

TOPIC REALIZATION IN KOREAN:
SENTENCE-INITIAL POSITION AND THE PARTICLE N±N

BY

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DEDICATED TO
DR. CHAUNCEY C. CHU
WHOM I INCALCULABLY OWE

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This research provides an alternative model to account for the diverse behaviors of the particle n+n, which has been claimed as an exclusive topic marker in conjunction with topic realization in Korean.

After the introduction of the fundamental assumptions and terms that this study is based on, discussions concentrate on the establishment of a theoretical framework to provide a unified way of explaining the topic phenomenon in Korean and the functions of the particle n+n. To do so, Korean topics are analyzed into four different categories in relation to their morphological variations. The particle n+n as an exclusive topic/contrast marker is thus seen as an inadequate claim. To remedy this deficiency, the notion of

'attention' is applied to the Korean topic phenomenon. Under this revised approach, sentence-initial position can be re-analyzed as a way of syntactic realization of the notion and the particle nin, as a way of morphological realization. They serve as complementary rather than conflicting devices in the language.

In the same vein, the passive construction in Korean as well as in English can be viewed as a syntactic device for topic realization. For a departure from the usual treatment of the "by"-markers, the Korean e uihae is proposed as a basic form to resolve the case conflict in the Korean passive.

Finally, contrasts between English and Korean topic realization are analyzed. Pronominalization and definitization are seen to be morphological devices essential to topic realization in both languages to complement the syntactic devices, but they are used differently in the two languages. Based on the comparative analysis, some pedagogical problems for teachers of English to Koreans are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Fundamental Assumptions

Recent studies on the notion of 'topic' have made monumental advances in clarifying the nature of semantico-syntactic aspects of discourse, in which both speaker/writer and listener/reader are viewed as sharing strategies so that the speaker/writer's attention¹ may be carried effectively to the listener/reader in a discourse. These approaches seem to share one principle of communication (Grice 1975). The principle is that the speaker/writer attempts to make utterances referring to an idea of the speaker/writer's interest, which is chosen out of many possible candidates. In the same context, Zubin (1979:470) pointed out that the speaker/writer is forced to select 'one entity or event at a time' as the most salient because of the human limitations to pay attention to everything that may be involved in discourse process. This same nature of the human limitations also makes it 'selective' in listening (Neisser 1967) and looking (Neisser and Becklen 1975). In other words, psychophysical cognitive limits of human capabilities makes it necessary to choose one item of interest to which attention can be directed without distraction. The item, picked out as the center of the speaker/writer's

interest, is meant to attract the listener/reader's attention, and serves as a core of discourse processing, where the selected item is initiated as a discourse topic, developed and maintained for cohesion of discourse. It provides a basic foundation or framework (i.e., a syntactic device) for new information to be conveyed in a passage. Such a framework functions as an essential instrument in the comprehension and integration of incoming information. At the same time, it invokes expectations about the nature of incoming information. Thus, it is crucial that the syntactic devices signal in such a way that the listener/reader can unambiguously identify early enough where the speaker/writer's center of attention is during discourse.

One such device has been called 'theme' or 'topic'.² The Prague School defines the theme as a sentence element that carries 'the lowest degree(s) of [communicative dynamism]' (Firbas 1964:272) and later reinterpreted as 'part of utterance which is most easily predictable from context' (Hinds 1975:86). 'Topic', a dichotomical term of the topic-comment construction of a sentence, is designated as 'the element which is given in the general situation or in some explicit question to which the speaker is replying' (Lyons 1969:335). We prefer 'topic' as a cover term to indicate the first part of the topic-comment structure and re-define it as the element

selected by the speaker/writer's target of interest and assigned at the beginning of a sentence. (See Chapter Two, Section 2.9.3) In addition to this use, we will employ terms such as a main topic and subtopic for lexical meanings of a topic in the sense of 'a subject treated in a speech, essay, thesis, or a portion of a discourse' (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 1976:1354). On the other hand, we will use the term topic realization to indicate all the syntactic operations that function as devices to realize a topic in sentence-initial position, covering 'subjectivalization' (Fillmore 1968:58), passivization, and topicalization in the sense that John Ross (1967) uses it. However, the terms 'theme' and 'thematization' are interchangeably used on occasion.

1.2 The So-called Topic Marker nin

In Korean there is a particle, nin, which many Korean grammarians (H. Kim 1967, J. Ree 1969, Oh 1972, D. Yang 1973, H. Im 1972, and Chae 1976) recognize as the topic marker for discourse and a contrast marker for meaning. Despite their near unanimous positions, it is very difficult to accept the grammarians' analyses, not so much because of the inadequacies of their approaches as because of the discrepancies between the grammatical accounts and the facts reflected in actual discourse data. It is true that the particle nin can be roughly characterized as a topic/contrast marker, but it does not seem sufficient to

cover all its diverse behavior manifested in actual speech and writing.

In dealing with the particle nin in connection with the topic realization in Korean, we believe that there are two prerequisites that must be clarified. First, the behavior of the particle nin seems to be diversely described in terms of morphology, syntax, and semantics. It has thus been variably called a subject marker, a topic marker, a contrast marker, and an emphatic marker, just to take a few for instance. It is sometimes also called a pro-case marker since it can substitute for six different case markers (H. Kim 1967).

It is possible, however, that the particle nin may be a morphological representation of a monolithic function of a discourse strategy, then the particle can be more uniformly treated in its diversified syntactic or semantic functions.

In another dimension, the nature of the basic Korean sentence structure has not been looked at in a broad perspective. For instance, past studies on the matter of topic realization in Korean seem to have failed to recognize the bilateral nature of Korean in terms of topic and subject. Korean actually stands halfway between topic-prominent and subject-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976). If this is a fact, a clearer account will

naturally emerge from the peculiar aspects of the topic realization in Korean. All the elusiveness, confusion, and inadequacy regarding the description of the particle nin that arise from a narrow view of the basic sentence structure in Korean will rapidly dissipate. Hence, we will base our discussion on the distinct structural duality that subject and topic coexist, as far as the typology of the Korean language is concerned.

The past claim that Korean discourse requires an exclusive topic marker nin is bound to ignore such syntactic devices as topicalization (in the sense that Ross (1967) uses it) and passivization (which, though more prevalent in subject-prominent languages, may serve a different function in topic-prominent languages.) Outstanding among the problems that approaches based on English grammar inevitably run into is, for example, the so-called 'double-subject construction' in Korean, as well as in many other languages.

1.3 Scope of Investigation

The second chapter examines the possibility of constructing an alternative model to account for topic realization in Korean. To begin with, we re-examine the behavior of the particle nin, which has been claimed as an exclusive topic marker. Then, we deal with the characteristics of the Korean topics in terms of four different

representations. Finally, we propose an 'attention' hypothesis so that we can provide a unified account of the several different interpretations for the behavior of the particle nin in conjunction with topic realization in Korean.

The third chapter concentrates on the passive construction in English in an attempt to test the claim that the passive is a syntactic device for topic realization (Perfetti and Goldman 1975), as it involves putting a non-topical element in sentence-initial position. To do so, we first examine some syntactic characteristics and discoursal motivation of the construction. Along the same line, we discuss the Korean passive construction in connection with topic realization in Korean.

The fourth chapter concerns two syntactic operations used for topic realization in English and Korean--passivization and topicalization à la Ross, both of which have mostly been studied within the sentence boundary. We further discuss definitization and pronominalization as morphological devices to accompany the syntactic operations for topic realization. Based on the comparative analysis, some problems inherent to Korean students in learning English are also discussed.

The fifth chapter is a summary and conclusion of this research.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ 'Intention' here refers to the speaker/writer's awareness of what he/she intends to do. See Fleming (1964), Strawson (1964), and Bratman (1981).

²For a further discussion about the terms, see Barry (1975) and Kitagawa (1982).

CHAPTER TWO

THE PARTICLE NIN AND TOPIC REALIZATION IN KOREAN

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will examine the problems involved in the use of the particle nin in conjunction with topic realization in Korean. In dealing with the problems, we will attempt to establish an alternative model and justify it on empirical grounds.

First, we will explore the behavior of Korean topics, analyzing actual discourse data, both spoken and written. We will question the validity of the claim that the particle nin is an exclusive, perhaps even obligatory, topic marker.¹

Secondly, we will discuss the notion 'attention' as a theoretical postulate to provide a unified answer to the problems involved in the topic realization in Korean and the functions of the particle nin.

2.2 Review of Literature

Up to now, topic realization in Korean has been discussed basically within the framework of transformational grammar. Such studies are represented by Choon-Kyu Oh (1972) and Dong-Whee Yang (1973).

According to Oh (1972), a topical sentence is derived from a non-topical sentence by means of a transformational rule. His formulation of Topicalization is as follows:

Topicalization (Oh 1972:627-628)

X, [^{NP}_{+ definite}] + particle, Y

1 2 3

$$\longrightarrow (2 + n \pm n) \# (1, \emptyset, 3)$$

- (1) a. John-kwa suyoil-ey hakkyo-ey kanta
John-with Wednesday-on school-to go

'(I) go to school with John on Wednesday.'

- b. John-kwa-nⁱⁿ, suyoil-ey hakkyo-ey kanta

'As for John, (I) go to school with him on Wednesday.'

- c. *suyoil-ey-nin*, John-kwa hakkyo-ey kanta

'As for Wednesday, (I) go to school with John.'

- d. hakkyo-ey-nin, John-kwa suyoil-ey kanta

'As for school, (I) go there with John on Wednesday.'

Sentences (1b-d) are assumed to be derived from sentence (1a) by means of Topicalization, which appears to be syntactically identical to that of English (Ross 1967), except for the morphological codification. Thus, Topicalization is a syntactic process whereby a non-topical noun phrase moves to the topic position. However, this rule does not account for sentences in (2), where the morphological codification is not required.

- (2) a. John-kwa suyoil-ey hakkyo-ey kanta
John-with Wednesday-on school-to go

'With Joh, (I) go to school on Wednesday.'

- b. suyoil-ey John-kwa hakkyo-ey kanta
Wednesday-on John-with school-to go

'On Wednesday, (I) go to school with John.'

- c. hakkyo-ey John-kwa suyoil-ey kanta
school-to John-with Wednesday-on go

'To school, (I) go with John on Wednesday.'

According to Oh's formulation, those topicalized elements in (2), John-kwa 'with John', suyoil-ey 'on Wednesday', and hakkyo-ey 'to school' must co-occur with the particle nin. As a matter of fact, however, those sentences in (2) are perfectly acceptable as they are.

Another approach concerning Topicalization in Korean is found in Dong-Whee Yang (1973). He assumes that the topical constituent is placed at sentence-initial position in the deep structure of a topical sentence, the rest of which is an embedded corresponding non-topical sentence. Let's examine the following example.

- (3) a. Mary-nin [John-i Mary-lil salanghanta]_S
Mary-TM S[John-SM Mary-OM love]_S

(TM=Topic Marker, SM=Subject Marker, OM=Object Marker)

'*Mary, John loves Mary.'

- b. Mary-nin John-i salanghanta
Mary-TM John-SM love

'Mary, John loves.'

Sentence (3b) is produced by deletion of the object of an embedded sentence in (3a), Mary, in coreference with the topical constituent, Mary, in the deep structure. As Yang points out, his formulation cannot be generalized to cover all topicalized structures in Korean, because there are sentences like (4) (Yang 1973:94).

- (4) kkoch-nin [cangmi-i ceyil-ta]_s
 flower-TOP_s rose-NM first-DEC_s

(TOP=Topic Marker, NM=Nominative Marker, DEC=Declarative)

'As for flowers, roses are the best.'

Since the embedded sentence of (4) possesses no constituent co-referential with the topical noun phrase, sentence (4) fails to find a source sentence the way (3b) does. Thus, these transformational approaches can not describe topic realization in Korean generally.

Despite the difference of approach between Oh (1972) and D. Yang (1973), their attempt is the same in that they try to capture the relationship between a non-topical sentence and a topical one on purely syntactic grounds.

2.3 Necessity for a New Approach

When we consider that the notion of topic is discourse oriented, those approaches reviewed in the last section instantly become inappropriate, especially in light of the existence of numerous counter-examples. The problem in particular is the use of the particle nin,

which has been claimed to be an obligatory morphological marker for the topic.² Not all the topicalized elements, that is, elements fronted to sentence-initial position, take the particle nin. Let's observe the following data.

- (5) a. na-lil talin salam-til-ka kukmunhakca-lako
I-OM other person-Pl-SM Korean-literature-scholar-as

hanta (Pl=Plural)
say

'Me, they call a scholar of Korean Literature.'

- b. talin salam-til-ka na-lil kukmunhakca-lako
other person-Pl-SM I-OM Korean-literature-scholar-as

hanta
say

'Other people call me a scholar of Korean literature.'

(from Cho-sun, February 1981, p. 224.)

In accordance with Oh's formulation of the Korean Topicalization, sentence (5a) should be derived from sentence (5b). And yet, the topicalized constituent, na-lil 'me' does not carry the so-called obligatory topic marker nin. This shows that a topicalized constituent in topic realization in Korean may not need morphological marking.

Now, we will look into the following quote, which is a connected discourse of three sentences.

- (6) a. thaecho-e malssim-ka kesinila
beginning-in word-SM exist

'In the beginning was the Word.'

- b. i malssim-ka hananim-kwa hamkke kesiassini
 this word-SM God-with together exist

'The Word was with God.'

- c. i malssim-nin⁴ hananim isinila
 this word-TM God is

'The Word is God.'

(from Sungkyuncunseo [The Korean Bible], 1964:142)

Item (6) is the beginning portion of Gospel According to John in the Korean Bible. The initial introduction of malssim 'word' in (6a) together with recurrences in (6b) and (6c) makes it the topics of (6b) and (6c). If the morphological codification is obligatory in the realization of Korean topic, as was implied in Oh (1972), Hinds (1975), and Li and Thompson (1976), the topic malssim 'word' in sentence (6b) must occur with a topic marker nin. Despite the absence of the particle nin, it appears that the message of the discourse is clear, regardless of the alternating occurrence of the subject case particle ka in sentence (6b) and the particle nin in sentence (6c).

Let us compare data (6) with a Japanese version, as it is well-known that Japanese has a distinctive topic marker wa.

- (7) a. hazime-ni kotoba-ga atta
 beginning-in word-SM was

'In the beginning was the word.'

- b. kotoba-wa kami-to tomoni atta
 word-TM God-with together was

'The word was with God.'

- c. kotoba-wa kami-de atta
word-TM God was

'The word was God.'

- d. kotoba-wa hazime-ni kami-to tomoni atta
word-TM beginning-in God-with together was

'The word in the beginning was with God.'

(from the New Testament, Japan Bible Society,
1954:135)

The Japanese data (7) show that the use of Japanese topic marker wa is consistent, after the topic kotoba 'word' is introduced and registered in (7a) with a subject marker ga.

From the evidence shown so far, it seems difficult to claim that the Korean particle nin is exclusively a topic marker and that its function is as clearcut as that of the Japanese topic marker wa. It therefore seems necessary to find a better way to deal with the matter of the Korean topic. To do so, we must begin with a reexamination of the behavior of the particle nin.

2.4 Early Description of the Particle Nin

The use of the particle nin seems to have long been controversial among Korean grammarians. Ramstedt (1968:37) states:

nin and its variant in are used to emphasize the preceding word, just like the Japanese particle wa. This has been called the casus absolutus, but it is best to call it the emphatic particle.

In Wagner and Kim (1967:1), the description of the particle is different from that of Ramstedt.

The particle [nən] (following vowels), [ən] (following consonants) is used to deemphasize the word it governs in the sense that it focuses attention on the predicate.

Further, Martin and Lee (1969:14) state that 'nin is designated as the topic marker, which indicates its noun as the sentence topic.'

The above descriptions of the particle nin differ from each other but they all represent the analysis of an element in its immediate syntactic contexts only. A consideration of discourse data will show that none of the above accounts are capable of explaining the various functions of the particle nin. We will therefore explore what is responsible for some of the discourse phenomena in the sections to follow.

2.5 Topic and Obligatory Marking

If the particle nin serves as an obligatory topic marker as is claimed in different studies, it must occur with a topic without fail. However, as shown in section 2.2, the particle nin does not necessarily occur with all topics. A further example is given in (8). This is a portion of a novel which appeared in a Korean magazine.

- (8) a. hanphyən Yoo Jaemyung-nin saepyaek-e
 on-the-other-hand Yoo Jaemyung-TM dawn-at

cip-~~i~~lo tolaka hannun puty~~a~~sta-ka
house-to return nap take-and

sinmunsa-e-n~~n~~n y~~a~~lhansi cc~~i~~m toe~~a~~
newspaper-office-at-TM 11-o'clock about become

chulkinhaesta
go-to-work

'Yoo Jaemyung, on the other hand, returned home at dawn for a short sleep, and went to the reporter's office at about 11 o'clock.'

- b. _____ akkaputh~~a~~ sacang-ka chacko istako
a-while-ago chief-SM look-for is

t~~i~~l~~a~~sta
hear

'(He) heard that (his) boss was looking for (him).'

- c. Yoo Jaemyung-ka sacangsil-lo kasta
Yoo Jaemyung-SM chief's-office-into go

'Yoo Jaemyung went into the chief's office.'

(from Sin-Tong-A, April 1981, p. 586)

The topic of the passage in (8) is Yoo Jaemyung, a proper name. The topic occurs with the particle n~~n~~ in sentence (8a) and is deleted in (8b) but in (8c), the same topic occurs with a subject particle ka, instead of the particle n~~n~~. This piece of evidence further suggests that the Korean topic does not necessarily require morphological codification. Here, an explanation is apparently in order for the occurrence of the particle n~~n~~, alternating with other particles, which are originally case particles attached to topic noun phrases. This problem will be discussed in section 2.6.

In conjunction with the use of the particle nin, first of all, we will examine the restrictions on the Korean topics proposed by Oh (1972:632), which essentially apply to the use of the particle nin exclusively. In accordance with those restrictions, the particle nin is only attachable to a noun phrase that is definite and anaphoric. It is, however, not too difficult to find counter example. Let's examine the following data.

- (9) es yàko-esà-nin hanttae cungkotǎng
 'S' girls'-high-school-at-TM once middle-high
 hakkyo-lǎl machici mot han sunyà-tǎl-ǎl wuihae
 school-OM finish not do nun-P1-OM for
 thǎksu kwacǎngkyoyuk-ǎl silsihan il-ka ista
 special curricular-OM practice event-SM is
 'At an 'S' girls high school, special classes were
 offered for the nuns who did not finish middle and
 high schools.'

(from Sin-Tong-A, April 1981, p. 314)

The passage in (9) is the first sentence of the introductory paragraph of an essay that appeared in a monthly magazine. It is interesting to note, however, that the topical phrase in the sentence, es yàko-esà 'at an 'S' girls high school' carries the particle nin. The sentence-initial noun phrase es yàko-esà may be definite but it is very hard to say that an adverbial like 'at an X girls high school' is definite. Furthermore, the noun phrase might very well be replaced by attàn hakkyo-esà 'at a certain school' and the sentence

would remain acceptable as a first sentence in the paragraph. Here, the replaced noun phrase is no longer 'definite' by any means. As it occurs in absolute discourse-initial position, it can not be anaphoric. On the other hand, as we have observed, the particle nin occurs not only with a topical adverbial phrase but also with a non-topical noun phrase. (See section 2.8.) It therefore seems very difficult to designate the particle nin exclusively as a topic marker and to impose such restrictions on the use of the particle.

Secondly, we will examine the claim that the particle nin indicates contrast when it occurs with a non-topical element (H. Kim 1967). Kuno (1973:38) claims that Japanese wa has two uses: (1) for the theme of a sentence in (10a) and (2) for contrast in (10b). Following are some of his examples.

- (10) a. John-wa gakusei desu
John-TM student is

'Speaking of John, he is a student.'

- b. Ame-wa hutte imasu-ga
rain-TM falling is-but

'It is raining but ...'

Despite the claim that wa in (10a) represents a topic, but a contrast in (10b), it is not clear how this distinction can be justified. Both noun phrases John and ame 'rain' occur in sentence-initial position. Moreover,

the sense of contrast in sentence (10b) is due to the conjunction ga 'but'.

Furthermore, a contrast may be expressed by lexical or syntactic position, as we will see in the next example.

- (11) a. namccok taephyo-n̄n s̄ngmȳang palphyo
 south representative-TM statement release
- s̄ksang-es̄ sinmunkica-ui cilmun-e taphaȳ
 moment-at reporter-of question-to answer
- U.N.-n̄n oese-ka anila haesciman
 U.N.-TM foreign-forces-SM not say-but
- oesin-e uihamȳn kath̄n nal Pyungyang-es̄-n̄n
 foreign-news-to according same day Pyungyang-at-TM
- U.N.-n̄n oese-nikka mul̄ka-ya
 U.N.-TM foreign-forces-since withdraw-must
- hantan̄n yoin-ui tamhwa-ka
 do important-figure-of statement-SM
- iss̄sta haci ani hanka⁵
 is say not do

(from Sin-Tong-A, April 1981, p. 188)

'After making a statement, the representative of South Korea said that the U.N. forces in South Korea are not foreign forces. On the other hand, on the same day, according to an international news agency, a high ranking official in Pyungyang made a statement that the U.N. forces are foreign forces and must be withdrawn.'

The topical constituent of (11) namccoktaephyo 'the representative of South Korea' potentially presupposes a representative from North Korea as a contrast, which, as expected, appears later in the same sentence in the form of Pyungyang-esə 'in Pyungyang (the capital of North Korea)' in contrast with the topic namccoktaephyo 'the representative of South Korea'. Thus, juxtaposition of a set of items or events seems to be a rather handy strategy to make one entity stand out against other semantically similar entities. If this is a correct observation, then contrast may not be sufficiently expressed by a morphological marker alone. In other words, the particle nin (and, thus, wa in Japanese) is not an adequate device for contrast, unless some other contrast opposition is provided. It might be argued that those noun phrases in contrast co-occur with the particle nin and contrast is not possible without its help. However, contrast is basically expressed by semantic opposition with or without the particle nin. Consider the following.

- (12) a. cha-ka cohci-man kaps-ka pissata
 car-SM good-but price-SM expensive
 'The car is good but the price is high.'
- b. cha-nin cohci-man kaps-ka pissata
 car-TM good-but price-SM expensive
 'The car is good but the price is high.'
- c. cha-ya cohci-man kaps-ka pissata
 car good-but price-SM expensive

'The car is good but the price is high.'

- d. cha-to cohci-man kaps-ka pissata
car-too good-but price-SM expensive

'The car, too, is good but the price is high.'

In (12), two facts are in contrast. That is, the fact that cha-ka cohta 'the car is good' and the fact that kaps-ka pissata 'the price is high'. The first fact in (12) is in no way contrastive with anything until the second fact is supplied. The use of the particle n̄n in (12b) does not seem particularly conducive to the contrastiveness of the two different facts of (12). Other particles ka, ya, to used in (12a), (12c), and (12d) do not affect the contrastiveness of the two facts. The contrast in this case therefore appears to depend on the semantic opposition primarily and the use of conjunction man 'but' secondarily, rather than on the use of a particular particle. On the other hand, the non-topical element kaps 'price' is apparently in contrast with the topical noun phrase cha 'car'. However, it is obvious that the contrasted noun phrase kaps 'price' does not require the attachment of the particle n̄n in (12).

From the facts examined above, it seems that contrast exists despite the presence or absence of the particle n̄n and without any requirement that the noun phrase for contrast be non-topical.

2.6 The Topic Particle vs. a Delimiter⁶

Differing with the popular view of the particle nin as a topic and a contrast marker, Yang (1972) designates the particle as one of the delimiters and contends that its semantic function is to enrich the constituent to which the particle nin is postpositioned in terms of presupposition, assertion, and implication (Yang 1973:83). Without the presence of the particle nin, an utterance is supposed to be neutral. Simply put, the particle nin expresses a presupposition, assertion or implication, depending on the discourse context. Based on this assumption, Yang (1973:88-89) postulates the following.

Semantics of nin

Presupposition:(i) The nin-attached element is known or registered.

(ii) Sister members explicitly or implicitly exist.

Assertion: The nin-attached element is only concerned in an act or event.

Implication:(i) The registered or expected sister members do not have the same value as the nin-attached element has.

(ii) The unregistered or unexpected sister members are neutral.

All combined, the proposal says that nin indicates a contrast in all its semantic aspects, which we have already proved wrong. There are, however, two issues that deserve more detailed discussion. If we consider the following data, it is not difficult to find that Presupposition (i) does not hold.

- (13) kɿ̌ yàca-ka ton-nɿ̌n manhta
the woman-SM money-TM abundant

'(It is) abundant money (that) the woman has.'

Ton 'money' in (13), though occurring with the particle nɿ̌n, represents new information. By convention, then, ton 'money' is a 'generic, anaphoric, deictic, or uniquely existing factor,' which Yang assumes to be known or registered.

Next, Implication (i) says that the nɿ̌n-attached constituent can have an exclusive value. This is true because an entity chosen for some specific purpose(s) naturally eliminates the rest of the members, not necessarily because of the function of the particle nɿ̌n. For instance, take (14) and (15). The chosen element does not require any particular particle.

- (14) kəpuki-wa thokki-ka kyəngcu-lɿ̌l haesta
turtle-and rabbit-SM race-OM do

'A turtle and a rabbit ran a race.'

- (15) thokki-ka ikiðsta
rabbit-SM win

'The rabbit won the race.'

The chosen member as having an exclusive value is thokki 'rabbit' in (15), which does not have to co-occur with the particle nɿ̌n. It does not seem to require a particular particle to express an exclusive value. As shown in (15), the chosen entity enjoys its uniqueness regardless of any special particle.

A problem with both Implication (i) and (ii) is that the nin-attached element is not always chosen out of a set of registered members. The nin-attached element can be picked out of even non-registered members. Let's take a look at the following data.

- (16) a. John-kwa Mary-ka kɨkɨcang-e kasta
John-and Mary-SM theater-to go

'John and Mary went to the theater.'

- b. salam-nin manhci ani haesta
person-TM many not do

'There were not many people (in the theater).'

In sentence (16b), salam 'person' is not registered in the previous discourse and yet, it appears with the particle nin. Now, we will examine a simpler case of a discourse-initial utterance in (17).

- (17) halu-nin ɔmɔni-wa sicang-e kasta
one-day-TM mother-with market-to go

'One day, (I) went to the market with Mother.'

In the case of (17) halu 'one day' occurs with the particle nin without being registered. Thus, data (16) and (17) show that the particle nin can occur without such a constraint as proposed by I. Yang.

So far, we have criticized several different points of view about the linguistic phenomena involving the use of the particle nin. None of them seem to truly describe all the facts. To seek a true generalization, we will propose and adopt the notion of "attention" as a

basic factor that governs the realization of Korean topics and the use of the particle n+n. Before this proposal is elaborated on (section 2.9), we will present more data on topic realization (section 2.7) and the differences between the particle n+n and the case marker ka (section 2.8).

2.7 Topic Realization in Korean

2.7.1 Characteristics of Topic

To understand the realization of Korean topic, it is very important to see the basic concept and function of the topic in relation to the use of the particle n+n. After closely examining the properties of topic as opposed to subject, Li and Thompson (1976:466) conclude that a topic functions as 'the center of attention' of the sentence, and that its characteristic surface coding is to appear in sentence-initial position. Another distinctive characteristic of the topic is that it bears no selectional relationship with the verb of the sentence.⁷ Chafe (1976) further cites definiteness as its primary property. That is, topicness is confined to a particular referent that both the speaker and the listener already know and can identify. Similar claims have been made by Oh (1972) in terms of restriction on the Korean topic, where the topical element must be anaphoric and definite from previous discourse. As discussed in section 2.2, however, the use of the

particle nin does not seem to be subject to the limitations in conjunction with the Korean topic realization. This fact strongly suggests that either the Korean topic behaves differently from the norm or the particle nin is not an exclusive topic marker.

To clarify our point, we will investigate how Korean topics are represented in different discourse contexts. Let's consider the following.

- (18) a. thokki-ka sophung-~~il~~ kamnita
rabbit-SM picnic-OM go

'A rabbit is going on a picnic.'

- b. _____ tosilak-~~il~~ kaciko kamnita
lunch-OM carry-and go

'_____ is carrying lunch.'

- c. _____ multhong-~~il~~ meko kamnita
water-bottle-OM hold-and go

'_____ is bringing a waterbottle.'

- d. _____ t~~il~~-~~il~~ cina kamnita
field-OM pass-and go

'_____ passed through fields.'

- e. _____ kkotbat-~~il~~ cinass~~im~~nita
flowerbed-OM pass

'_____ passed by flowerbeds.'

- f. kkot-ka kopke phi~~o~~ iss~~im~~nita
flower-SM beautifully bloom is

'Flowers are blooming beautifully.'

- g. _____ noli-~~il~~ hay~~o~~ss~~im~~nita
game-OM do

'_____ played games.'

- h. _____ phulbat-esə noli-1ɿ1 hayəssɿmnita
grass-on game-OM do

' _____ played games on the grass.'

- i. _____ cham caemi issɿmnita
very fun is

' _____ had a lot of fun.'

- j. _____ cəmsim-ɿ1 məkəssɿmnita
lunch-OM eat

' _____ ate lunch.'

- k. _____ namukɿnɿ1-esə məkəssɿmnita
treeshadow-in eat

' _____ ate it in the shadow of a tree.'

- l. _____ masiske məkəssɿmnita
tastily eat

' _____ enjoyed it.'

(from 'Thokkiui Sophung' [A Rabbit's Picnic], Kukə [The Korean Language], the Ministry of Education, 1972, 60-63)

The passage in (18) mainly concerns thokki 'rabbit' and its picnic. The topic of each sentence except in (18f) is therefore also thokki 'rabbit'. According to Oh (1972), the topic must occur with the particle nɿn in the second sentence of the discourse. Yet, as we witness, once thokki 'rabbit' is introduced, neither the topic nor the particle nɿn appears any more in the topic position throughout the whole discourse. But the discourse is perfectly clear.

It has also been claimed that a subject particle ka is used to introduce a referent for the first time into

a discourse and then the referent becomes an established topic at the second appearance with the help of the particle n̄n. If this is the norm for Korean topics, the passage in (18) must be a deviation, since there is no 'established' topic in it. What is actually involved is the deletion (i.e. non-occurrence in the surface) of a topic, which will be dealt with in the next subsection as one of the four different forms of Korean topic..

As a working hypothesis, we assume in this study that the Korean topics are represented in four different types: (i) deleted topic, (ii) topic with no particle, (iii) topic with a case particle, and (iv) topic with the particle n̄n alternating with ka. The assumptions are, of course, open to verification or falsification.

2.7.2 Deleted Topic

First, we will examine a case of the deleted topic in discourse. As shown in (18), the established topic never shows up for some reason. If Oh's formulation of Korean topic is correct, sentence (18b) would have to read like (19).

- (19) thokki-n̄n tosilak-#l kaciko kamnita
 rabbit-TM lunch-OM carry-and go

'The rabbit is carrying his lunch.'

It seems apparent that the absence of the topic in (18b) is the result of a deletion of the topic under coreferentiality with the noun phrase thokki 'rabbit' in the

introductory sentence in (18a). That is, the topic of the discourse is deleted without first being established as a topic. The fact that in the Korean discourse, deletion of the topic is permitted across sentence boundaries seems rather unusual. This kind of deletion is impossible in the sense of Halliday's nominal ellipsis (Halliday and Hasan 1976:147-166), where only a part of a nominal group is deletable, but not the entire nominal. Observe the following examples.

(20) a. The two suspects can not be traced.

b. Apparently both are abroad.

c. Apparently they are abroad.

d. Apparently the two are abroad.

e. *Apparently the are abroad.

f. *Apparently are abroad.

g. punmyǎngghi kukoe-e ista
apparently abroad is

'*Apparently (_____) are abroad.'

The convention of ellipsis is that the omitted portion of a nominal group is understandable by reason of anaphora. In spite of the fact that English does not allow the deletion of entire nominals across sentence boundaries, it is possible in Korean to produce a sentence like (20g) to follow (20a). A surface form parallel to (20g) is not acceptable in English, i.e. (20f).

What is the possible explanation for the deletion of an entire nominal just at the point where it is to be formally established as topic? A reasonable one is to assume that any referent newly introduced at the topic position, which is normally the sentence-initial position with a subject particle ka in Korean, automatically gets the quality of an established topic as soon as it is uttered, if nothing is mentioned otherwise. The predictable qualification of a newly-introduced noun phrase as an established topic appears to come from the advantageous position where the noun phrase is introduced. If a nominal is placed at non-topical position, for example, at an oblique position (dative or accusative case), when newly introduced, it is not likely to become a topic without appearing a second time in discourse can not be deleted because it has not previously established as a topic. For example, consider the following.

- (21) a. Billy-ka Mary-wa Sally-l~~i~~l manasta
 Billy-SM Mary-and Sally-OM meet
 'Billy ran into Mary and Sally.'
- b. * _____ Billy-l~~i~~l Sally-eke sokaehaesta
 Billy-OM Sally-to introduce
 *' _____ introduced Billy to Sally.'
- c. Mary-ka Billy-l~~i~~l Sally-eke sokaehaesta
 Mary-SM Billy-OM Sally-to introduce
 'Mary introduced Billy to Sally.'

When an expected topic occurs in a non-topical position like Mary in (21a), it must recur in a topical position as in (21c) in order for it to be established as a topic. A new topic must occur at the topical position, even though there exists an anaphoric relationship between (21a) and (21c). Without this process, deletion of the nominal is not likely to happen like (21b). In other words, sentence (21b) is not acceptable for the meaning that 'Mary introduced Billy to Sally' without undergoing the process that re-introduces Mary as in (21c). And then the deletion of the new topic is possible, such as in a sentence (____) twul-i1 cip-e chotaehaesta '() invited the two to her house.' What is noteworthy here is that the element introduced in the topic position in (21c) does not carry the particle n+n. Yet, the nominal Mary in (21c) functions as an established topic and is deletable in further discourse.

2.7.3 Discourse Without a Surface Topic

With no re-introduced topic from any preceding discourse, a discourse can be initiated and carried on without any explicit topic. This is a common practice, in particular, for everyday conversation in Korean, where the non-verbal situation is observed or experienced by both the speaker and the listener and a mutually agreed-upon topic can be picked out on the basis of previous understanding. A case in question is one where the topic

of the discourse never surfaces throughout the entire discourse. Such a discourse is likely to occur on condition that the speaker and the listener share the same presupposition or the same immediate situation that attracts their attention and interest. Another condition that may warrant an unemerged topic is the situation where the mention of the topic may bring about unpleasant feelings or may be undesirable for the sake of secrecy. Let's examine the data in (22).

- (22) a. _____ kesinya?
is
'Is _____ (home)?'
- b. _____ an kesinteyo
not is
'_____ is not (home).'
- c. _____ əti kasiðsni?
where go
'Where did _____ go?'
- d. _____ sicang-e kasiðssəyo
market-to go
'_____ went to the market.'
- e. _____ ənce kasiðsni
when go
'When did _____ go?'
- f. _____ achim-e kasiðssəyo
morning-in go
'_____ went in the morning.'

This is a dialog between a boy and a visitor who is a friend of his grandfather's. The situation is that the visitor has a close friendship with the boy's grandfather and the boy is fully aware of the situation of the discourse as is the visitor. In this situation it is normal that both parties do not have to mention the topic of the discourse. From experience, the boy knows⁸ that the visitor is looking for his grandfather and it is possible for him to produce an utterance like (22b) in response to a topicless (or subjectless) question like (22a). At the same time, the discourse initiator also knows that his listener can identify the referent, even if it is not mentioned. The topic of discourse (22) could show up at the initiation of the discourse but its introduction and repetition is certainly not favored. Because of the pre-supposition that is shared by the speaker and the listener, the discourse with the topic supplied would produce a different meaning or even become inordinate. If the discourse topic is filled as in (23), it changes the whole discourse setup. Consider the following.

- (23) halapàci-ka kesini?
grandfather-SM exist

'Is your grandfather alive?'

Utterance (23) is only possible in the situation where the speaker does not know whether the listener has a grandfather or not. The above question is appropriate only when the

speaker wants to find out whether the listener has a grandfather who is alive. The most appropriate response to question (23) would be like (24a), when the listener has a grandfather.

(24) a. _____ keseyo.
 exist

'_____ is alive.' (=I have one.)

b. halapàci-nin keseyo
 grandfather-TM exist

'My grandfather is alive.' (= I have one but ...)

Utterance (24b) is not an appropriate response to question (23), unless the speaker intends to imply an additional meaning which may follow: the speaker does have a grandfather but he has never seen him because he lives in North Korea. Sentence (24b) is not an appropriate response to (22a), either, because it would create an unnecessary implication. That is, if (24b) is used as a response to (22a), the speaker implicitly wants to express that his grandfather is home but, say, he has company so that no one can see him now. Thus, sentence (24b) is expected to be followed by an additional utterance about the nin-attached noun phrase.

If discourse (22) is supplied with a topic, that will certainly cause a change of meaning, as we have observed in sentence (23). Thus, a topic-filled discourse in Korean is sometimes inappropriate and even

becomes awkward in a certain context. In the context of (22), if the topic is to be filled at all, the most natural one is without a particle, as in (25).

(25) a. halapəci-∅ kesini?
grandfather exist

'Is (your) grandfather (home)?'

b. halapəci-∅ an keseyo
grandfather not exist

'(My) grandfather is not (home).'

In this section we have discussed two different kinds of unmentioned topics in Korean discourse. The first one is possible by omission of the topic due to anaphora; the second is only recoverable and identifiable from the mutually understood environment of the speaker and the listener towards which their attention is directed. In other words, where there is a zero-topic, there must be something presupposed in the structure of discourse and the implicit topic must always be recoverable from the discourse setup.

2.7.4 Topic with No Case Particle

As the topic is made prominent by taking the sentence-initial position, it can therefore occur without any particular morphological marking. Let's take, for example, the case of the 'double-subject' construction in Korean, which is regarded as a typical sentence construction in topic-prominent languages.

- (26) a. cə chinku-Ø paeccang-Ø cohta
 that friend guts good

'That fellow, he has plenty of guts.'

- b. cə chinku-ka paeccang-ka cohta
 that friend-SM guts-SM good

'That fellow, he has plenty of guts.'

Despite the morphological difference between sentences (26a) and (26b), both sentences carry the same message. That is, the presence of the subject marker ka in the topic position and the presence of another subject particle ka in the subject position of an embedded sentence do not give any additional meaning to the sentence, because both the position and the morphological marker have the same functions. It only stands to reason that if both syntactic and morphological devices are available for a discourse function, this function can be realized in one or the other form or in both. The topic of the sentence cə chinku 'that fellow' in (26b) is doubly marked as topic, i.e. first, syntactically by the sentence-initial position, and secondly, by morphological marker ka. Therefore, the topical marker ka becomes omissible. Likewise, the subjectness of paeccang 'guts' in (26b) is also doubly codified. Of Korean, it may be said that morphological marking is by nature auxiliary and becomes redundant as long as syntactic marking is present.⁹ Omission of the morphological marker thus seems justifiable by the redundancy of double codification for

the same function and by primacy of syntax over morphology as far as the Korean language is concerned. Such omission is in fact not limited to the cases of subject and topic. It applies to the accusative and the locative cases as well. Consider the following.

- (27) a. nə-Ø muðs-Ø hani?
you what do

'What are you doing?'

- b. na-Ø chaek-Ø ponta
I book see

'I am reading a book.'

- c. na-nin chaek-il ponta
I-TM book-OM see

'I am reading a book.'

- d. nə-Ø əti-Ø kani?
you where go

'Where are you going?'

- e. na-Ø hakkyo-Ø kanta
I school go

'I am going to school.'

- f. na-nin hakkyo-e kanta
I-TM school-to go

'I am going to school.'

Given questions like (27a) and (27d), the most favorable responses that are expected for everyday conversation are those in (27b) and (27e), where the subject case particle, objective case particle, and a goal marking particle do not surface. Those full forms like (27c) and

(27f), though acceptable, are not likely to be uttered because of the redundancy of double marking.¹⁰

Redundancy in human communication may be inevitable in terms of syntax and morphology. Because of the complexity of human language behavior and the complementary functions across different levels, such redundancy may be a rigid requirement in some languages. On the other hand, tendency to eliminate redundant elements may be in favor in other languages in terms of efficiency. The two contradicting characteristics of language can often be coexistent and reconciled in certain languages. Korean is no doubt one of such languages, as we observed in the above examples, where the duplication of identical functions is both acceptable and avoidable at the same time.

2.7.5 Topic with Optional Subject Case Particle Ka

The third form of Korean topics is characterized by subject case particle ka, which is realized as i after a noun phrase ending in a vowel. The subject case particle ka also occurs with topical noun phrases as we will see in the following examples.

- (28) a. Samson-ka Timnath-e naelyəkasə kəkisə puleset
 Samson-SM Timnath-to go-down-and there Philistine
 ttal cung han yəca-ləl poko
 daughter among one woman-OM see-and
 'One day Samson went down to Timnath, where he
 noticed a certain Philistine girl.'

- b. (____) tolo ollawasə caki pumo-eke malhayə
again come-up-and his parents-to saying

kalotoe nae-ka Timnath-esə pulleset salam-ui
I-SM Timnath-in Philistine person-of

ttal cung han yəca-lɿl poassaoni ice kɿ-lɿl
daughter among one woman-OM see-and now the-OM

chwuihayə nae anae-lɿl samke hasosə
take-and my wife-OM making do

'(He) went back home and told his father and mother,

"There is a Philistine girl down at Timnath who

caught my attention. Get her for me; I want to

marry her."

- c. pumo-ka kɿ-eke ilɿtoe ne hyəngcetɿl-ui
parents-SM he-to say your brothers-of

ttal cungena nae paeksəng cunesə əcci yəca-ka
daughter among my people among why woman-SM

əpsəsə ne-ka hallye patci anihan
non-existent you-SM circumcision receive not

pulleset salam-eke kasə anae-lɿl chwuihalyə
Philistine person-to go-and wife-OM take

hanɿnya Samson-ka api-eke ilɿtoe nae-ka
going-to Samson-SM father-to say I-SM

kɿ yəca-lɿl cohahaoni na-lɿl wuihayə kɿ-lɿl
the woman-OM like-since I-OM for the-OM

telyəsosə hani
bring say

'But his father and mother asked him, "Why do you

have to go to those heathen Philistines to get a

wife? Can't you find a girl in our clan, among

all our people?" But Samson told his father,

"She is the one I want you to get for me. I like her."

- d. i ttae-e pulleset salam-ka Israel-~~i~~l
this time-at Philistine person-SM Israel-OM

kwanhalhan-kolo Samson-ka thim-~~i~~l thasə
control-because Samson-SM chance-OM take-and

pulleset salam-~~i~~l chilyəhamiəssina ki pumo-nin
Philistine person-OM attack-but the parents-TM

i il-ka yəhowakkelosə naon kəsincul-nin
this event-SM Lord-from come-from thing-TM

alci mot hayəstəla
know not do

'His parents did not know that it was the Lord
who was leading Samson to do this, for the Lord
was looking for a chance to fight the Philistines.
At this time the Philistines were ruling Israel.'

- e. Samson-ka ki pumo-wa hamkke Timnath-e
Samson-SM the parents-with together Timnath-to

naelyəkasə Timnath-ui photowən-e iləncik
go-down-and Timnath-of vineyards-to arrive

əlin saca-ka ki-ləl maca soli-ləl cilənəncila
young lion-SM he-OM meet-and roar-OM make

'So Samson went down to Timnath with his father and
mother. As they were going through the vineyards
there, he heard a young lion roaring.'

- f. Samson-ka yəhowa-ui sin-eke khike kamtongtoeə
Samson-SM Lord-of spirit-by greatly influence

son-e amukətto əpsəto saca-ləl yəmsosaekki
hand-in nothing having lion-OM goat-kid

ccicim kati ccicəssina ki-nin ki haenghan il-~~i~~l
tear like tear-but he-TM the done thing-OM

pumo-eke-to kohaci ani hayəsko
parents-to-even report not do-and

'Suddenly the power of the Lord made Samson strong,
and he tore the lion apart with his bare hands, as
if it were a young goat. But he did not tell his
parents what he had done.'

- g. kɛ-ka naelyðkasə kɛ yðca-wa malhamyð
he-SM go-down-and the woman-with chatting

kipðəhayəstəla
pleased

'Then he went and talked to the girl, and he liked
her.'

- h. əlmahue Samson-ka kɛ yðca-lɛl chwuhalyðko
after-a-while Samson-SM the woman-OM take

tasi katəni tolikhyə kɛ saca-ui cukəm-ɛl poncɛk
again go back the lion-of corpse-OM see

saca-ui mom-e pəltte-wa kkul-ka issnəncila
lion-of body-in bee-and honey-SM is-since

'A few days later Samson went back to marry her.

On the way he left the road to look at the lion
he had killed, and he was surprised to find a swarm
of bees and some honey inside the dead body.'

- i. (____) son-ɛlo kɛ kkul-ɛl chwuihayə haenghamyð
hand-with the honey-OM take-and go-and

məkkə kɛ pumo-eke ilɛlə kɛtɛl-eke kɛkəs-ɛl
eat-and the parents-to go they-to it-OM

tɛlyðsə məkke haessɛ-na saca-ui mom-esə
give-and eat cause-but lion-of body-from

chwuihayəstakonɛn malhaci ani hayəstəla
take say not do

'He scraped the honey out into his hands and ate it
as he walked along. Then he went to his father and

mother and gave them some. They ate it, but
 Samson did not tell them that he had taken the
 honey from the dead body of a lion.'

(from Sǝngkyǝngcǝnsǝ [The Holy Bible], 1976, p. 386)

In (28) the underlined, Samson, can be identified as the topic of a narrative discourse in the sense of Longacre's classification of discourse.¹¹ Samson, the most salient agent in this narrative, always occurs in the topic position and at the same time it takes the subject case particle ka throughout the whole discourse. Without any particular morphological marker to indicate the topic of the discourse, data (28) would be just as perfect in writing.

Examples of this kind abound in spoken discourse as well. Consider the following.¹²

- (29) a. Im Kyungup-ka capǝlakohaesǝ, Im Kyungup-ka
 Im Kyungup-SM arrest Im Kyungup-SM

cap-hi-ǝkayo
 arrest-PM

'Im Kyungup, having been ordered to be arrested,
 was under arrest.'

- b. kǝlaekaciku Im Kyungup-ka naelyǝkataka Anju
 and-then Im Kyungup-SM come-down-and Anju

com cinakaciku thwuici
 about pass-and escape

'And then Im Kyungup made an escape, when he was
 escorted to near-by Anju.'

- c. kɪlaekaciku Im Kyungup-ka san sok-e
and-then Im Kyungup-SM mountain inside-to

tɪlɔkasə suməyo
enter-and hide

'And he hid himself in the mountains.'

- d. kɪlɔtaka i chinku-ka ɔtilkacikusən hanɪnyahamyən
and-then this fellow-SM where-to-go do

Hwanghaeto-lɪl naelyɔkacikun
Hwanghaeto-OM go-down-and

'And then, this fellow went to Hwanghaeto.'

- e. (____) cə ccok Cangsan kot ccok-e kakacikunɪn
that side Cangsan kot side-to go-and

'(He) eventually arrived at Cangsan kot.'

- f. (____) caki-ka sangin-ilako haeyo
self-SM merchant-as say

'(He) introduced himself as a merchant.'

- g. kɪlaesə (____) nae-ka muyɔkhalkke isko khɪn
and-then I-SM trade have large

ton-ka issɪni pae-lɪl naelaku
money-SM have-since boat-OM rent

'And (he) said he had a lot of money for business
and wanted a boat.'

- h. kɪlaesə (____) pae-lɪl naekacikusənɪn
and-then boat-OM rent

'Then (he) rented a boat.'

- i. (____) paessakong-ɪl haesə hancham taehae-lo
boatman-OM with while sea-to

nakanikka
go-out

'(He) sailed out for a while to the sea with a
boatman.'

- j. Im Kyungup-ka khal-~~il~~ kkinae 'nae-ka
Im Kyungup-SM sword-OM draw-and I-SM

Im Kyungup ita Myàn-nala-lo kaca haeyo
 Im Kyungup is Ming-dynasty-to let's-go say

'Im Kyungup drew his sword and said, "I am

Im Kyungup. Let's go to the Ming Dynasty.'"

- k. Im Kyungup-ka pulssanghan chinkuciyo
Im Kyungup-SM pitiful fellow-is

'Im Kyungup is a pitiful fellow.'

The data in (29) are spoken discourse where the speaker is talking about Im Kyungup, who is the topic of the narrative discourse. Throughout the discourse, Im Kyungup, the agent in the discourse, occurs in the topic positions and occurs with the subject case particle ka. The topic is maintained cohesively by means of repetition as in (29a, b, c, j, and k) and deletion as in (29e, f, g, h, and i). In (29d) the topic is replaced by i chinku 'this fellow.' However, the subject case particle ka is just an additional device to enhance the topicality.

From what we have observed in this section about the topic and its morphological marker ka, we conclude that a narrative discourse in Korean may not require a special topic marker in the organization of discourse. Put in another way, the topicality of a constituent is, perhaps, not so much controlled by the morphological marking as by the syntactic position.

2.7.6 Topic with N̄n, Alternating with Ka

Lastly, we will discuss the Korean topic which takes the controversial particle n̄n, alternating with the subject case particle ka. The problem with the claim that Korean topic requires an exclusive marker is that many grammarians ignore the fact that Korean topics can be represented in different forms, as we have pointed out in the previous sections. As a result, three other forms of Korean topic have remained unexplained. One of these three is the marker ka that alternates with n̄n. Let's take a look at the following data.

- (30) a. pulkyo-n̄n s̄kic̄an yuk seki kȳang Indo-es̄
buddhism-TM B.C. six century circa India-in

palsaengan-ilaē k̄i pophȳans̄ang-kwa sekes̄ang-̄ilo
founded-since the catholicity-and globality-of

malmiama kukkȳang-̄il n̄m̄a kak cibang-̄ilo
because border-OM cross every country-to

n̄lli c̄anpha-toe-̄asta
widely spread-PM

'Because of its catholicity and globality,

Buddhism has crossed the borders of all countries,
since it originated in India about the 6th century
B.C.'

- b. pulkyo-ka k̄i kaunte tongpukpang-̄ilo cungang
Buddhism-SM the among northeast-to central

asia ȳd̄l̄a nala-l̄i k̄achȳa cungkuk-e c̄anhaȳac̄in
Asia many country-OM through China-to introduced

k̄as-ka s̄aki il seki kȳang ita
thing-SM A.D. one century circa is

'Buddhism spread to China through different countries in the northeast of Central Asia in the first century A.D.'

- c. cungkuk-#lo cànhayðon i pulkyo-ka tasi
China-to introduced this Buddhism-SM again

cungkuk-ui yàksa-wa munhwa soke tokthàkhan
China-of history-and culture in unique

cungkuk-ui pulkyo-l#l hyàngsàngsikhiàsta
China-of Buddhism-OM form

'The Buddhism that was introduced into China was formed into the Chinese Buddhism that is unique to the history and culture of the country.'

- d. k# pulkyo-ka tasi hankuk-#lo cànlaetoen kàs-ka
the Buddhism-SM again Korea-to introduced thing-SM

sa seki kyàng-ui il iàsta
four century circa-of thing is

'That Buddhism was again introduced to Korean about the fourth century A.D.'

- e. iloputhà han-mincok-ui mot#n sasang-kwa
this-from one-race-of all thought-and

munhwa-wa yànhap-toe-ð hana-ui mincok
culture-with blend-PM-and one-of national

pulkyo-losà sànglip-toen kàs-ka hankuk
Buddhism-as establish-PM thing-SM Korea

pulkyo-in kàs-ita
Buddhism thing-is

'Since then Korean Buddhism has been established as a national Buddhism, by blending into the thoughts and culture of the Korean nation.'

- f. k#lòm#lo indo-ui yàksa-wa munhwa sokesà
therefore India-of history-and culture in

sənglip-toen pulkyo-ka cungang Asia cipang-ɿl
 establish-PM Buddhism-SM Central Asia region-OM

kəçhimiənsə kɿ munhwa-lɿl hɿpsuhako cungkuk-e
 go-across the culture-OM absorb-and China-to

kasənɿn təuk koto-ui cungkuk munhwa-wa
 go-and more high-degree-of China culture-with

yunghap-toe-əssɿmyə
 blend-PM

'Thus, the Buddhism that had been cultivated within
 the history and the culture of India, absorbed the
 culture of Central Asia on its way to China and was
 enriched by advanced Chinese culture.'

- g. kɿ pulkyo-ka hankuk-e tɿləwasənɿn tto tasi
 the Buddhism-SM Korea-to enter-and also again

hankuk-ui yəksa-wa munhwa sokesə kaesəngisnɿn
 Korea-of history-and culture within characteristic

hankuk-ui pulkyo-lo sənglip-toen kəs ita
 Korea-of Buddhism-as form-PM thing is

'The Buddhism that was introduced to Korea has been
 enriched by Korean history and culture and developed
 into a buddhism unique to the Koreans.'

(from Chosun [Korea], February 1981, p. 278)

The passage in (30) is the introductory paragraph of an
 article that deals with the origin and development of the
 Korean Buddhism. Naturally, the topic of this discourse
 is pulkyo 'Buddhism', which occurs six times in the passage.
 Our concern here is the alternative occurrences of the
 particles nɿn and ka. The first topic of (30) occurs with
nɿn in (30a) and the second occurrence is with ka in (30c).

The rest of the incidence occurs also with ka in the embedded sentences in (30d, f, and g). On the basis of (29) and (30), it is safe to say that the particle nin does not function exclusively as a topic marker as claimed.

Before we concentrate on the real function of the particle nin, however, we will compare ka with nin systematically in the section to follow.

2.8 Differences Between Ka and Nin

Traditionally, the particles ka and nin are classified as a case particle and a special particle, respectively. Ka is used to indicate the subject case of noun phrases, whereas nin to specify the meanings of elements to which nin is attached (Chae 1977). In this section we will examine (i) the distribution of the particles and (ii) implicational differences between them in the discourse context.

2.8.1 The Distribution of Ka

(A) It occurs with the subject cases of both matrix and embedded sentences.

(31) a. Matrix sentence:

Mary-ka onta

'Mary is coming.'

b. Embedded sentence:

ikəs-ka Mary-ka cohahanin kɛlim ita
this-SM Mary-SM like picture is

'This is the picture that Mary likes.'

(B) It can alternate with objective case lɿl (or ɿl) and the goal case particle e. The replacement of the particles seems to be associated with a particular verb, i.e. verb sɿpta 'want' in this case. The occurrence of the particle ka in this 'unusual' position has been regarded as assuming a semantic characteristic of 'emphasis and restriction' (Hong 1975:86). Take (32), for instance.

- (32) a. Mary-ka saensən-ɿl məkko-sɿpta
Mary-SM fish-OM eat-want

'Mary wants to eat fish.'

- b. Mary-ka saengsən-ka məkko-sɿpta
Mary-SM fish-SM eat-want

'(Now you are talking about) Fish, Mary wants to eat it.'

- c. na-nɿn hankuk-ka kako-sɿpta
I-TM Korea-SM go-want

'It is Korea that I want to go.'

- d. na-nɿn hankuk-e kako-sɿpta
I-TM Korea-to go-want

'I want to go to Korea.'

- e. na-nɿn hankuk-ɿl kako-sɿpta
I-TM Korea-OM go-want

'I want to go to Korea.'

- f. na-nɿn hankuk-e-lɿl kako-sɿpta
I-TM Korea-to-OM go-want

'It is to Korea that I want to go.'

- g. *na-nɿn hankuk-e-ka kako-sɿpta
I-TM Korea -to-SM go-want

- h. *na-nɿn hankuk-ka-lɿl kako-sɿpta

The subject particle ka alternates with the objective case particle li in (32a and 32b) and with the goal case particle e in (32c) and (32d). Note, however, that the particle ka co-occurs with neither of them on the same noun phrase, as in (32g) and (32h).

(C) The subject particle ka occurs in the so-called 'double-subject' construction, which is typical to topic-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976:469). Observe the following.

- (34) a. Mary-ka mǎli-ka kilta ¹²
 Mary-SM hair-SM long

'Mary, she has long hair.'

- b. kim-ssi-ka chinku-ka manhta
 Kim-Mr.-SM friend-SM many

'Mr. Kim, he has a lot of friends.'

- c. muke-ka mukəun kəs-ka cohta
 weight-SM heavy thing-SM good ** relativized NP*

'(Talking about) Weight, the heavy ones are good.'

It is apparent that the first noun of each sentence in (34) is not the subject in spite of the occurrence with the subject case particle ka. As Li and Thompson (1976:463) pointed out, there is no selectional relationship between the first noun phrase and the predicate of the sentences in (34). Consider the following.

- (35) a. *Mary-ka kilta.

*'Mary is long.'

- b. *Kim-ssi-ka manhta

*'Mr. Kim is many.'

c. *muke-ka cohta

*'The weight is good.'

As shown in (35), the verbs kilta 'long', manhta 'many', and cohta 'good' can not serve to assert about the noun phrases Mary, Kim-ssi 'Mr. Kim', and muke 'weight', respectively.

The particle ka may also be contrasted with the particle nin in such 'double-subject' constructions as is shown in the following.

- (36) a. Mary-ka Sally-pota məli-ka kimnikka
Mary-SM Sally-than hair-SM long

'Does Mary have longer hair than Sally?'

- (37) a. ye, Mary-ka məli-ka kimnita
yes Mary-SM hair-SM long

'Yes, she does. (=Mary has longer hair than Sally.)'

- b. ye, Mary-nin məli-ka kimnita
yes Mary-TM hair-SM long

'Yes, she does. (i.e. Mary, of course, her hair is.)'

- c. ye, Mary-ka məli-nin kimnita
yes Mary-SM hair-TM long

'Yes, she has longer hair.'

(i.e. 'Mary's hair. Of course, it is.')

- d. ye, Mary-nin məli-nin kimnita
yes, Mary-TM hair-TM long

'Yes, she has long hair.'

Though the two questions in (36), differing only in ka-nin, may not carry any significantly different messages, the answers in (37) do to some extent. The various forms in

(37a) - (37c) basically carry the same semantic content. However, it seems that the nin-attached noun phrases, Mary in (37b) and məli 'hair' in (37c), are intended to attract attention, especially in contrast with their ka-attached counterparts in (37a). In other words, those nin-attached noun phrases appear highlighted as the center of attention, whereas the ka-attached ones are free from such an additional function. On the other hand, it is unnatural to have multiple nin-attached noun phrases in a single sentence for marking the center of attention, as in (37d), where both noun phrases Mary and məli 'hair' are marked with nin. For the center of attention, one entity at a time appears to be optimum because of 'human limitations of selective attention' (Zubin 1979:470).

In terms of distribution, the particle ka seems to be able to occur with the topic, the object and the goal in addition to its occurrence with the subject in its normal role. There doesn't seem to be much restriction on its occurrence with the topic as long as the topic is the first noun phrase of the so-called 'double-subject' construction; but with the object and the goal it alternates with lil and e only when the verb is sipta 'want to'. It therefore may be reasonable to assume that the particle ka is taking over the functions of lil and e when the meaning can be made clear from the main verb and from the position of the noun phrase. It is equally reasonable

to assume that the particle ka is taking over the function of the particle nɛn to mark a topic if the topic can or can not be directly predicated by the main verb.

2.8.2 Distribution of Nɛn

The particle nɛn is quite different from the particle ka in many respects; in particular, it enjoys much more freedom than ka in terms of distribution.

(A) The particle nɛn can co-occur with noun phrases in such cases as subjective, objective, dative, goal, possessive, and temporal by replacing the original case particles (H. Kim 1967). For example, observe the following.

(38) a. subjective:

apəci-ka(nɛn) kyosu isimnita
father-SM professor is

'(My) father is a professor.'

b. objective:

Mary-ka phyənci-lɛl(nɛn) ponaesta
Mary-SM letter-OM send

'Mary sent a letter.'

c. dative:

appa-ka Noah-eke(nɛn) ton-ɛl cusinta
Dad-SM Noah-to money-OM give

'Dad gives Noah money.'

d. goal:

Mary-ka kohyang-e(nɛn) kakosipta
Mary-SM hometown-to go-want

'Mary wants to go home.'

e. possessive:

Mary-ui(nən) khi-ka khiṭa
 Mary-of hight-SM tall

'Mary is tall.'

f. temporal:

nun-ka kīmnyən kyḍul-e(nən) manhi onta
 snow-SM this-year winter-in much come

'It snows a lot this year.'

(B) It can also co-occur with following elements
 of a sentence. (Chae 1977)

(i) phrase conjunction: wa and hok

John-ka Mary-wa-nən chinku ita
 John-SM Mary-and friend is

'John and Mary are friends.'

John-ka cip-e kaskəna, hok-nən
 John-SM house-to go or

tosəkwān-e issiḷkəta
 library-in is

'John must be either at home or in the library.'

(ii) other special particles: man and kkaci

a. John-ka Mary-man-nən cohahanta
 John-SM Mary-only fond-of

'John is fond of Mary only.' (Not the other girls)

b. John-ka i sasil-kkaci-nən molanta
 John-SM this fact-even unaware

'John is unaware of even this fact.'

(iii) adverbs: ppalli 'fast' and chəncənhī 'slow',¹³

sikan-ka ppalli-nən kanta
 time-SM quickly go

'Time quickly passes by.'

kɨphaeng-ka chə̀nchə̀nhi-nɨn mot kanayo
 express-SM slowly not go

'Doesn't the express run slowly?'

(iv) adverbial verb endings: a, ke, ko and ci

a. Billy-ka macak-ɨl nola-nɨn poasta
 Billy-SM mahjong-OM play try

'Billy tried to play mahjong.'

b. Mary-ka cukke-nɨn ani toeəsta
 Mary-SM die not become

'Mary did not happen to be put to death.'

c. Mary-ka cukko-nɨn sipci ani haesta
 Mary-SM die want not do

'Mary did not want to die.'

d. Mary-ka cuk-ci-nɨn ani haesta
 Mary-SM die not do

'Mary did not die.'

(v) complimentizers: ki and im

a. cha-ka pissaki-nɨn haciman kachi-ka ista
 car-SM expensive but value-SM is

'The car is expensive but worthy of the price.'

b. məkim-nɨn salki wuihaesə ita
 eating living for is

'Eating is for living.'

(vi) conjunctive endings: ko, taka, lə, and tolok

a. Mary-ka achim-ɨl məkko-nɨn salaciəsta
 Mary-SM breakfast-OM eat-and disappear

'After Mary had eaten breakfast, she disappeared.'

b. Mary-ka sosəl-ɨl ilktaka-nɨn uləsta
 Mary-SM novel-OM read-and weep

'Mary read the novel and wept.'

- c. nollə-nɛn nakaci malala
play go-out don't

'Don't go out to play.'

- d. mon-Ka aphitolok-nɛn ilhaci malala
body-SM sick work don't

'Don't get sick through working hard.'

(C) It can also co-occur with indefinite pronouns like ənce 'when,' nuku 'who,' əti 'where,' muəs 'what,' and əttəni 'someone' as in the following.

- (39) a. kohyang-ɛl ənce-nɛn mot kamnikka
home-OM when not go

'We can go home anytime, can't we?'

- b. nuku-nɛn kɛkəl anayo
who it know

'Who knows it? (=Nobody knows it.)'

- c. əti-nɛn mot kamnikka
where not go

'We can go anywhere, can't we?'

- d. əttəni-nɛn napoko suncinhataeyo
someone to-me naive

'Someone told me that I was naive.'

- e. muəs-nɛn anayo
what know

'What do (I) know? (= I know nothing.)'

2.8.3 The Semantic Functions of Ka and Nɛn

2.8.3.1 The Semantic Function of Ka

First, the particle ka is analyzed as possessing a semantic feature of exclusiveness¹⁴ (Ree 1969). To quote his examples (1969:13),

- (40) a. nu-ka ilponmal-~~i~~1 al-nan-anya?
 who Japanese know Int

'Who knows Japanese?'

- b. i se salam jung-es~~o~~ nu-ka ilponmal-~~i~~1
 this three man among who Japanese
 al-nan-anya?
 know Int

'Who knows Japanese among these three persons?'

- c. i salam-ka ilponmal-~~i~~1 al-nan-ta
 this man Japanese know

'(It is) this person (who) knows Japanese.'

Ree's hypothesis that the subject particle ka is used because i salam 'this person' is chosen and required to be marked uniquely is a true description but leaves some room for further investigation. We will present two reasons to argue for a revision of his proposal. First, the meaning of exclusiveness is not entirely responsible for the use of the particle ka. Ka does not have to be a uniqueness marker, because there is a special particle man 'only' for that purpose. Secondly, the sense of exclusiveness can be deduced from context only. It is not necessary to attribute this meaning to the subjective case particle ka. Let's consider, for instance, the following.

- (41) a. i se salam motu-ka ilponmal-~~i~~1 amnita
 this three person all Japanese know

'All of the three speak Japanese.'

- b. i salam-man ilponmal-~~i~~1 amnita
 this person-only Japanese know

'Only this person speaks Japanese.'

In response to question (40b), we could expect utterances like (41) as well as (40c). In sentence (41a), it seems difficult to sense the same exclusiveness attributed to the presence of the particle ka in sentence (40c). There is a sense of exclusiveness in sentence (40c), but it is difficult to claim that sentence (40c) has the same degree of exclusiveness as expressed by motu 'all' in (41a). Moreover, the average speaker of Korean is likely to choose (41b) to express such exclusiveness, because the particle man 'only' alone satisfies such a semantic requirement unambiguously. For further support of our argument, we will examine another example. Take data (42), for instance.

- (42) a. ppanana, kam, pae cungesə ðnikəs-ɿl
 banana persimmon pear among which-OM

cohahamnikka
 like

'Which do you like, banana, persimmon, or pear?'

- b. na-nɿn pae-lɿl cohahamnita
 I-TM pear-OM like

'I like pears.'

- c. *na-nɿn pae-ka cohahamnita
 I-TM pear-SM like

*'I, pears like.'

Utterance (42a) is the same as utterance (40b) in the sense that selection from a set of alternatives is required. In response to the question in (42a), utterance (42b) is most appropriate. The sense of exclusiveness can also be felt because selection of one item naturally excludes the others.

If the implication of exclusiveness is represented by the particle ka, sentence (42c) should be good. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Thus, the implication of exclusiveness seems to be inspired by context as a whole or by man 'only', not by the particle ka. Therefore, it is not sufficient to call the particle ka an exclusiveness marker.

The particle ka is also claimed to indicate new information which is not shared by the listener (Ree 1969: 12). As a response to utterance (40a), the most appropriate answer is (43a).

- (43) a. Mary-ka amnita
Mary-SM know

'Mary does.'

- b. *Mary-nin amnita
Mary-TM know

Of course, the information that Mary knows Japanese is not known to the listener until it is told. As long as the speaker assumes that his/her information is new to the listener, the particle ka must co-occur in this case. So, the particle ka serves to represent 'focus' in the sense of Jackendoff (1972:16). However, it is not quite accurate claim that only the particle ka can express 'focus' because other particles (i.e. i+1) can also co-occur with a noun phrase as focus of information such as we have observed in (42b). Here pae 'pear' is chosen from what is by now old information to be the message being conveyed.

2.8.3.2 The Semantic Function of N+n

The particle n+n is very different from the particle ka in many respects. In particular, it is unique in that the particle seems to generate an additional meaning to the elements to which the particle is attached. It has been claimed that the particle n+n indicates such implications as 'emphasis' (Ramstedt 1968), 'contrast, opposition, and difference' (H. Choi 1946), 'topic and contrast' (H. Kim 1967; J. Ree 1969; Oh 1972; D. Yang 1975; Chae 1976), and 'opposition, emphasis, restriction, completion, condition, continuation, and topic' (H. Im 1972). However, it seems extremely difficult for us to believe that so many diverse and sometimes conflicting implications can be carried by a single particle. We might come up with an even longer list of implications, if we depend on each and every sentence and individual discourse context. In other words, such an interpretation of the particle n+n seems likely to be attributable to individual contexts rather than its inherent properties.

In spite of the chaos, we will concentrate on the claim that the particle n+n functions as a topic marker in sentence-initial position and a contrast marker in non-sentence-initial position (D. Yang 1973).

First, we will examine the particle n+n as a contrast marker. Contrast, as a matter of fact, can be

made without the help of the particle n̄n. Observe (44).

- (44) a. Mary-ka yongmo-ka ippuci-man haengsil-ka k̄ill̄sta
 Mary-SM face-SM pretty-but behavior-SM bad

'Mary, her face is pretty but her behavior is bad.'

- b. Mary-ka yongmo-n̄n ippuci-man haengsil-ka k̄ill̄sta
 Mary-SM face-TM pretty-but behavior-SM bad

'Mary, her face is pretty but her behavior is bad.'

- c. Mary-ka yongmo-ya ippuci-man haengsil-ka k̄ill̄sta
 Mary-SM face pretty-but behavior-SM bad

'Mary her face is pretty but her behavior is bad.'

In (44), two pairs of concepts are in opposition: yongmo 'face' versus haengsil 'behavior' and ippu 'pretty' versus k̄ill̄ 'bad'. What makes it contrastive, however, is primarily the lexical juxtaposition. A second clue for contrast is the verb ending ciman 'but'. There seems to be no tangible meaning difference among the sentences in (44) regardless of different particles which are attached to the contrasted noun phrases (i.e. ka, n̄n, and ya¹⁵). Now, we will examine the following which lacks lexical juxtaposition.

- (45) a. John-ka m̄li-ka cohta
 John head good

'John, his intelligence is high.'

- b. John-ka m̄li-n̄n cohta
 John head good

'John, his intelligence is high.'

Intuitively speaking, it seems to be true that m̄li 'head' in (45b) is contrasted with some unspecified alternatives. Put in another way, the n̄n-attached element in (45b) appears to be in contrast with some unfavorable

alternatives, whereas the same element that co-occurs with the particle ka does not seem to carry such implication, as in (45a). To paraphrase (45b), we might even say that it means 'John has high intelligence despite such other problems as, for example, his personality.' This kind of interpretation is entirely context specific, of course. Depending on different contexts, we can reason out different implications when the alternatives in contrast are not specifically spelled out. Because of heavy dependency on the context, previous studies seem to fail in the generalization of this property of nin. Thus, from the context in (45b), we can vaguely say that the particle nin can co-occur with an element that may have explicit or implicit alternatives in contrast.

Now, we will consider a long stretch of discourse to examine the semantic function of the particle nin. Let's take a look at the following.

- (46) a. *ilnyən-e hanpəncčim-nin on kacok-ka*
 one-year-in once all family-SM

yəhaeng-ɿl ttənanta
 journey-OM leave

'Once a year, all of our family makes a journey.'

- b. *chəim-e-nin nae-ka kehoek-ɿl seu-ko*
 in-the-beginning I-SM plan-OM make-and

anae-ka ton-ɿl kwancanghaesta
 wife-SM money-OM take-care-of

'In the beginning, I made plans and my wife
 took care of the budget.'

- c. aetɬ1-nɨn ttala-man tanimyən toeðsta
children-TM follow-only go become

'All the children had to do was to follow us.'

- d. kɨlənɨn tongan-e aetɬ1-ka calasta
in-the-meantime children-SM grow

'In the meantime, the children grew up.'

- e. kɨttaeputhə-nɨn yəhaengkehoek-kwa kwanli-1ɬ1
from-that-time-on-TM journey-plan-and budget-OM

aetɬ1-eke wuiimha-ko na-wa anae-nɨn phyənhi
children-to trust-and I-and wife-TM with-ease

twuittala tanimyən toeðsta
after go become

'From that time on, my wife and I just went after
our children without difficulty, on trusting them
with the planning and budgeting.'

- f. yesan-ɬlo chaekcəngtoen ton-man cumyən
budget-for allotted money-only give

motɨn il-nɨn chaekim mathɨn aetɬ1-e uihae
all work-TM responsibility take children-by

iluə-ci-əsta
perform-PM

'Within an allotted budget, everything was performed
by the children who took responsibility.'

- g. əttənttae-nɨn cakɨn aetɬ1-ka chaekim-ɬ1
sometimes-TM little children-SM responsibility-OM

mathɨn hyəng-eke comtə cal məkɬ1-su-nɨn
take older-brother-to more well eat-can-TM

əpnɨnyako mutnɨnta
have-not ask

'Sometimes, the little children said to the older
brother in charge, "Can't we have a little better
food?"'

- h. *Khin ae-nin* "yesan-ka əpsə" *hamyən kimanita*
big child-TM budget-SM no say that's-all

'The older child in charge would discourage them
by saying "No budget".'

- i. *motin kwənli-ka hyəng-eke iski ttaemune*
all right-SM older-brother-to exist because
cakin aeti:l-nin hal-su-əpsi sunconghae-ya-hanta
little children-TM do-can-without obey-must-do

'Because of all the rights entrusted to the older
child, the younger ones had to be obedient to the
big brother.'

(from Hyungsuk Kim, *Kitaewa Nanukosiphin Yaekika*
Ista [I have a story to share with you], 1980,
p. 110.)

Passage (46) is an introductory portion of an essay, where we encounter the incidence of the particle *nin* in every sentence except in (46d). The particle *nin* occurs six times with sentence-initial elements and three times with non-sentence-initial noun phrases. In our analysis of topichood of the passage, we will be first concerned with the sentence-initial noun phrases that co-occur with the particle *nin*.

In determining legitimate topics of the passage (46), it seems very difficult to typify such noun phrases as *hanpəncceim* 'once' in (46a), *chəim* 'in the beginning' in (46b), *aeti:l* 'children' in (46c), *kittaeputhə* 'from that time on' in (46e), *əttənttae* 'sometimes' in (46g), and

kh±n ae 'older child' in (46g), for a variety of reasons. First, these constituents have no anaphoric references; there is no way of identifying them as 'given' or 'previously mentioned,' which is said to be required quality for topichood. Secondly, those n±n-attached elements are not semantically 'generic.' Thirdly, at least, the n±n-attached temporal adverbials are not what the speaker/writer is talking about. Thus, we can not say that those n±n-attached, sentence-initial elements function as topics.¹⁶

Some (e.g. Kuno 1973 and Lee 1973) argue that the n±n-attached noun phrases at non-topical position occur in association with an implication of contrast. That is, the noun phrases are supposed to have implicit or explicit alternatives in contrast with them. However, it is not clear whether the particle n±n in non-topical position always possesses such an implication or whether the implication is entirely context-bound. Take na 'I' and anae 'wife' in (46b), for instance. Neither of the noun phrases occur with the particle n±n but we can not deny that the fact that the two entities are definitely in contrast with each other. On the other hand, aet±l 'children' in (46c) occurs in sentence-initial position and nonetheless is in contrast with na 'I' and anae 'wife' (i.e. parents) in (46b) on the basis of semantic juxtaposition.

In view of the behavior of the particle n±n examined in the above analysis, it seems extremely

difficult to say that the particle nin indicates topichood of the noun phrases that occurs at in sentence-initial position or implies contrastiveness when it occurs with a non-topical noun phrase. In other words, the function of the particle nin can not be captured in terms of a superficial dichotomy like 'topic' and 'non-topic' or 'contrast' and 'non-contrast'. That is the reason some grammarians have been forced to conclude that the semantic function of the particle nin is 'broad and varied' (Ree 1969:132) and "elusive and deceptive" (H. Kim 1967:106).

To see how the particle nin is used for topic, implicit contrast or anything else, we need to ask what motivates this particle. Upon close examination of the behavior of the particle nin, it seems most plausible to assume that the particle nin performs the function of highlighting an item that is chosen as the center of the speaker/writer's attention, which in the meantime is meant to be directed to the listener/reader. Put in another way, discoursal prominence is given to the item that co-occurs with the particle nin such as in (44), (45), and (46). Based on the analysis that the implication of contrast does not depend on the particle nin per se, but on a context as a whole, we are convinced that highlighting an item or an event is motivated by the speaker/writer's intent to call the listener/reader's attention to the particular item that is picked out in the speaker/writer's mind. (for the terms

'highlighting' and 'attention', see section 2.9.)

2.8.4 Nin/Ka as Topic Marker

Finally, we will discuss the particles nin and ka as topic markers. We have contended that these particles are not obligatory topic markers but are particles that can occur with topical noun phrases. We are going to return to the analysis of the passage (46) for our argument, for which we have said that the nin-attached sentence-initial noun phrases do not necessarily serve as topics (as defined by other grammarians) and left the problem of determining the topic-hood unsolved. Such being the case, we will now concentrate on the legitimate topics of the passage and their relation to the functions of the particles nin and ka in the following section.

In accordance with general characteristics of a narrative discourse, which is attributive of the use of first and third persons, agent oriented, the use of present or past tense, and linearization of events (Hinds 1976:46), we assume that the passage in (46) is a typical narrative which is built with a set of sub-topics relevant to the main topic. Based on this assumption, we will analyze passage (46) to demonstrate how the narrative discourse is internally structured.

It seems apparent that the writer of the narrative is talking about his family traveling, which is the main

topic. Under this main topic there are sub-topics that expand the narrative. Illustrated in the next page in a diagram is the relationship between the main discourse topic, its sub-topics and sentence topics.

Legend of the analysis

Triple underline = main discourse topic

Double underline = subtopic of the discourse

Single underline = sentence topic

Box = interlude

Once a year, all of my family makes a journey.

I made plans.

In the beginning

my wife took care of the budget.

the children went along.

In the meantime, the children grew up.

I and my wife entrusted planning and budgeting to the children.

From that time on

all work was performed by the children.

younger children asked for better food.

Sometimes

older child discouraged them for a budgetary reason.

younger children obeyed.

This organizational chart was extracted from the English translation independently of the markers and is done by one who does not know Korean. All topics (of discourse or sentence) turn out to be marked by n+n, except (i) the topic of the entire discourse (which is marked as such by virtue of its being the first sentence) and (ii) those sentence topics that immediately follow discourse topics (in which case particle ka is used.) Note also that once a year is marked by the particle n+n as the sentence topic.

From the facts uncovered by comparison of the chart and the narrative discourse itself, one thing seems to be certain: topics are of two kinds --- sentence topics and discourse topics. They also seem to differ in their internal nature. The former are noun phrases and have to meet certain semantic requirements and the latter are not and do not have to meet such requirements. Specifically, the following tentative claims can be made:

- (47) a. Particles n+n and ka are used to mark both discourse topics and sentence topics, and the choice between the two is conditioned by the discourse environment. E.g. the particle ka is used with a sentence topic if it immediately follows a discourse topic.
- b. Past studies that imposed definiteness, anaphoricity, genericness and identifiability on topic

noun phrases, treated only sentence topics.

- c. Discourse topics do not have to be noun phrases and they do not have to meet the conditions imposed on sentence topics.
- d. Contrast on topics, discoursal or sentential, seem to come more from lexical meaning than merely from the fact that they are topics.

With these claims in mind, we will explore in more detail what motivates the marker n±n/ka in the next section. In doing so, we will also discuss the force that unites discourse topic and sentence topic and thus makes it possible to put them under the same umbrella 'topic' as a whole.

To sum up, the property of the particle n±n as a discourse topic marker does not seem to be entirely compatible with what has been claimed in previous studies. From our analyses of the behavior of the particle n±n, it seems most plausible to assume that this particle has another characteristic that may embrace both its discoursal and syntactic functions. This point will be elaborated in section 2.9.

2.9 Attention as a Discourse Strategy

2.9.1 Basic Assumptions

The purpose of this section is to provide in a principled way a unified explanation of the behavior of

the particle n+n in conjunction with topic realization in Korean.

Our description of the diverse behavior of the particle n+n is based on four assumptions. (i) 'attention' is one of the major discourse strategies (Turner 1968:543 and Zubin 1979:477). (ii) The strategy of 'attention' may be expressed in terms of syntax and morphology in Korean --- syntactically, by sentence-initial position and morphologically, by the use of the particle n+n in both topical and non-topical positions. Thus, the elements that occur in sentence-initial position can be optionally marked by the particle n+n for double codification. (iii) The notions of 'topic' or 'contrast' are sub-categories of 'attention'. (iv) The function of 'attention' is to direct the attention of the listener/reader to the elements that are at the center of the speaker/writer's interest.

2.9.2 The Notion of Attention

'Attention' seems to be a term with a great many varied meanings, applicable to a very wide range of phenomena, many of which are obviously central to an understanding of human behavior. We will base our working hypothesis on 'selectional attention' (Moray 1976:6). It is observed that a perceiver who is receiving several messages at the same time experiences a positive process of selecting only one of them to accept and respond to. Since human beings

are not equipped to distribute equal degrees of attention to everything stimulated simultaneously in a world of indefinitely abundant information, selection is regarded as a must. It is believed that perceivers only pick up what they are interested in and ignore the rest. Zubin (1979) applied the notion of "selective attention" to linguistic performance in terms of grammatical encoding and decoding. His position is in turn adopted as a working hypothesis in this study in the hope that we can come up with an adequate model to account for such a syntactico-discoursal phenomenon as topic realization in Korean.

2.9.3 Hypotheses Based on 'Attention'

In his discussion of the grammar of German, Zubin (1979) argues that the nominative case is employed to identify a constituent that is chosen to be the target of the speaker's attention, whereas the dative and the accusative cases are used for the constituents that are peripheral. It appears to be very significant in Zubin's study to take notice of the fact that the speaker/writer selects a particular participant of interest out of a set of several participants. The participant chosen by the speaker/writer, being the center of interest, attracts the largest amount of attention of the listener/reader.

Based on this assumption, it is postulated here that Korean topics are used as a means of securing the listener/reader's attention. Sentence-initial position

suffices as a syntactic code for attracting such attention. If a participant that is chosen as the center of the speaker/writer's attention occurs in a non-topical position, morphological marking is required. The particle nən thus serves as a morphological device for directing attention. In other words, sentence-initial position and the particle nən are both attention markers at different linguistic levels. In the following data, we will examine the function of discourse topics and the particle nən as an attention-attraction device.

- (48) a. cəncang-esə na-nən mincokcwuui-nən
previous-chapter-in I-TM nationalism-TM

cikimwasə-nən kongsancwuui-wa-to yangliptoel-su
nowadays-TM communism-with-also compatible-can

ista haesnənte
is say

'In the previous chapter, I stated that nationalism
could be compatible with communism nowadays.'

- b. i mal-nən comtə haemyənghaci ani hamyən
this word-TM a-little-more clarify not do

ihae-toe-ki əlyəul ppun anila
understand-PM difficult only not

'As to the statement, I think that it is difficult
to understand if the point is not clarified further.'

- c. i munce-e kwanhan myəngchwakhan ihae
this matter-about concerning clear understanding

əpsi kongsancwuuica-wa cəpchokhanən kəs-nən
without communist-with contacting thing-TM

sonswuipke kətəl-ui swulchaek-e malyətəl
easily they-of conspiracy-in involve

wuihəm-ka isnən ilita
danger-SM is thing

'Without a clear understanding of it, contacting the communists would easily involve (one) in their conspiracy, which is a dangerous thing.'

- d. ipəne-nən mincokcwui-wa kongsancwui-wa-ui
this-time-TM nationalism-and communism-and-of

kwanke tto-nən kongsancwui-ka mincokcwui-ləl
relation or-TM communist-SM nationalism-OM

əttəhke taluko isninyahanin munce-e kwanhae
how deal is . matter-about concerning

yakkan na-ui poninpa-ləl malhaetukocəhanta
some I-of view-OM say

'This time, I am going to express my views on the relation between nationalism and communism or rather how the communists interpret nationalism.'

(from Sin-Tong-A, April 1981, p. 190.)

To facilitate an illustration of the analysis of data (48), we will repeat the English version of data (48) in the following.

- (49) a. In the previous chapter, I stated that nationalism

and communism nowadays could be compatible.

- b. As to the statement, I think that it is difficult to understand, if the point is not clarified further.

- c. Without a clear understanding of it, contacting the communists could easily involve (one) in their conspiracy, which is dangerous thing.

- d. This time, I am going to express my views on the

relation between communism and nationalism or rather
how the communists interpret nationalism.

Legend:

Triple underline = main discourse topic

Double underline = subtopic of the discourse

Single underline = sentence topic

In (49), two phrases stand out as contrasting with each other: càncangesə 'in the previous chapter' and ipəne 'this time'. One introduces what the author did and the other, what the author is going to do. Thus, they can be considered discourse topics performing the task of calling the reader's attention to the two events. Indeed enough, ipəne 'this time' is marked with the particle nən. For some contextual reason, càncangesə 'in the previous chapter' is not overtly marked morphologically, but its syntactic position is a sufficient marker as a topic. Alternatively, càncangesə 'in the previous chapter' could be marked by the particle nən. If so, the following na 'I' would have to be marked by the particle ka.

The other topics are mincokcwuui 'nationalism' and kongsancwuui 'communism' in (49a), i mal 'this word (i.e. this point)' in (49b), kongsancwuui cawa cəpchokhanən kəs 'contacting the communists (literally, the matter of contacting communists)' in (49c), and naui ponənpa 'my view', mincokcwuui wau kwanke 'the relation between nationalism and communism' and kongsancwuui caka mincokcwuui ləl əttəhke

taluko isninyahanin munce 'how the communists interpret nationalism' in (48d). They are, however, sentence and sub-sentence topics. As such, they certainly meet some or all the conditions that have been imposed on the topic in previous studies. Furthermore, they are all morphologically codified by the particle nin.

All the occurrences of the particle nin in this passage serve one unified function: to call the reader's attention to what the writer is trying to tell or explain. There is, of course, one odd fact. In (48d), instead of a noun phrase, the conjunction marker tto 'or' is marked with the particle nin. In this case, the whole conjoint phrase seems to function as topic. Furthermore, it seems to help the reader to pay attention to what is going to be stated in the immediate future.

It is our contention that the particle nin in general functions as an attention marker, which helps to direct the listener/reader to an item that is chosen as the target of the speaker/writer's interest. In the course of discussion in section 2.7.1, we recognize that a topic serves as "the center of attention" of the sentence (Li and Thompson 1976:466). As we stated in section 2.9.2 that syntactically the attention system is realized by sentence-initial position, the function of the morphological attention marker nin becomes secondary and eventually optional. This accounts for the absence of the particle nin for some Korean topics

in such cases as in sections 2.7.4 and 2.7.5 and the appearance of the particle nin in alternation with some other particles. The seemingly chaotic facts that Korean topics can occur with original case particles (section 2.7.5), without particles (section 2.7.4), and with the particle nin, alternating with the particle ka (section 2.7.6) can thus be uniformly explained by primary and secondary realizations of topic in terms of attention.

For further support of our contention, we will take a look at some additional data in (50).

- (50) a. yesu-kkesə hənkɨmkwe macinphyən-e ancasə
 Jesus-SM offering-box opposite-to sit-and
 salam-tɨl-ka hənkɨmkwe-e ton-ɨl nəhnɨnkəs-ɨl
 person-P1-SM offering-box-in money-OM putting-OM
 palapoko kesiəsta
 watch is

'As Jesus sat near the Temple treasury he watched the people as they dropped in their money.'

- b. puca-tɨl-nin mahnin ton-ɨl nəhəsnɨnte
 rich-person-P1-TM much money-OM put

'Many rich men dropped in a lot of money.'

- c. kananhan kwapu han salam-nin wasə kyəu
 poor widow one person-TM come-and at-most
 lepton tukae-lɨl nəhəsta
 copper-coin two-OM put

'Then a poor widow came along and dropped in two little copper coins worth about a penny.'

(from the English-Korean New Testament, American Bible Society, 1977, p. 160.)

In the data, two lexical items are in opposition: pucat#1 'rich people' in (50b) and kananhan kwapu han salam 'a poor widow' in (50c). Some may argue that the particle n#n is co-occurring because the two elements are contrasted; but the semantic contrast would not be obscured, even if the particle n#n is replaced by the subjective case particle ka. On the other hand, the two items do not serve as full-fledged topics because of lack of such topic features as definiteness and anaphoricness. Hence, it is obvious that the particle n#n does not obligatorily mark a full-fledged topic or contrast. What the particle really contributes to the entire discourse is that it highlights the selected elements so that they may attract the listener/reader's attention. In other words, the presence of the particle n#n helps bring the object of the speaker/writer's attention into prominence; otherwise the speaker/writer would be misunderstood as to the point that he is trying to make.

2.9.4 Obligatoriness of the Particle N#n

To investigate the intuitional obligatoriness of the native speaker's use of the particle n#n in a narrative discourse, the following questionnaire was conducted.

The text used in the questionnaire was syntactically identical to passage (46), which contains nine sentences. In all of the sentences except one there is at least one occurrence of the particle n#n either in topical position or non-topical position. In the questionnaire,

however, all of the occurrences of the particle nin were removed on purpose from each sentence and replaced by appropriate case markers, where required.

There were twenty participants, who were either Korean graduate students at the University of Florida or their wives. They are all native speakers of Korean and were not told the purpose of the questionnaire. The participants were instructed to read the whole passage and then read each sentence again and underline any parts of the sentence that are not compatible with their native speaker's intuition on Korean. After that, each participant was asked to correct the underlined parts of the sentences by adding appropriate particles.

In the analysis of the result, we have eliminated all the irrelevant portions, because we are only interested in the use of the particle nin. The following page is a chart giving the result.

N n -Attached Noun Data (46)	Phrases in the Original	Number of participants who added <u>nn</u> in correction	%
Topical Position	Non-Topical Position		
(46a) ilnyāne hanpānccīm 'once in a year'		1	5
(46b) chāīm 'in the beginning'		4	20
(46c) aetīl 'children'		12	60
(46e) kīttaeputhā 'from that time on'		0	0
	(46e) anae 'wife'	5	25
	(46f) motān il 'all the works'	3	15
(46g) āttānttae 'sometimes'		3	15
(46h) khān ae 'older child'		0	0
	(46j) cakān aetīl 'small children'	6	30
(46d) kīlānāntongane 'meanwhile'		0	0

As the result shows, the low percentage of participants who preferred the use of the particle n+n in passage (46) supports our assumption that the topic in Korean is primarily realized by syntax and secondarily by morphology; thus the morphological codification for topichood in Korean, i.e. the use of the particle n+n for topical noun phrases, is optional. It is interesting to note that three topical noun phrases kilðn+ntongane 'in the meantime' in (46d), kittaeputhə 'from that time on' in (46e, and kh+n ae 'older child' in (46h) are not designated by any of the participants as having to be marked morphologically.

The occurrences of the particle n+n with the noun phrases in non-topical positions also received a low percentage. This may be interpreted as the use of the particle n+n in non-topical position not being mandatory for 'contrast', though it is possible for the particle n+n to be a 'contrast' marker in this position.

It seems obvious that the result of the questionnaire serves as strong evidence in favor of our assumptions presented in section 2.9.1. However, the n+n-attached noun phrases in non-topical positions require further study with more experiments.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has brought out two important points of discussion. One of them is the need to recognize four different representations of Korean topics: (i) unmentioned topics, (ii) topics with no particles, (iii) topics with case particles, and (iv) topics with special particles. Furthermore, based on the analyses of our data, we conclude that the particle n+n is not an exclusive topic marker.

The second point is that we have tried to provide a unified account of the diverse behavior of the particle n+n in conjunction with the topic realization in Korean. To do so, we have applied the hypothesis of 'attention' to account for topic phenomena in Korean and the behavior of the particle n+n. We have attempted to interpret sentence-initial position as a syntactic device and the particle n+n as a morphological device for expressing the speaker/writer's attention by way of topic. Both or either of them may be utilized.

In the process of linking attention on the one hand and the syntactic and morphological devices on the other to topic, we feel that there is a need to recognize that noun phrases may manifest themselves in different degrees of topicness by applying different numbers of realization devices. It also seems that the semantic features that define topic-hood may apply the same way, i.e. a noun phrase may incorporate more or fewer of such features and thus makes itself more or less a topic.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹For the time being, the particle nin will be called a topic marker (TM), until we show that it is not an exclusive topic marker.

²This claim is implied in H. Kim (1967), Hinds (1975), Li and Thompson (1976), and Y. Lee (1979).

³There are two subject case markers: i and ka (without counting kkesə, an honorific marker that can replace i and ka). Ka occurs with a noun phrase that ends with a vowel and i, with a consonant. Hereafter, the Korean subject case marker will be represented by ka for the sake of consistency.

⁴The particle nin is phonologically adjusted to in after a noun phrase that ends with a consonant; however, the particle will be represented by nin hereafter.

⁵In the analyses of linguistic data in this study, an elaborate breakdown of complicated Korean verb structures will be avoided, since it is not pertinent to the purpose of the present study.

⁶The classification of particles in Korean varies depending on grammarians and their criteria. Yang (1973) identifies them as 'case markers' and 'delimiters.' However, we will resort to the traditional classification in this study: 'case particles' and 'special particles.'

⁷Li and Thompson (1976:465) is concerned with the so-called Chinese style topic, which is prevalent in Korean. Along the same line, Chafe (1976:50) states that "What the topic appears to do is to limit the applicability of the main prediction to a certain restricted domain ... Typically, it would seem, the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main prediction holds."

⁸In fact, there is a morphological clue that the boy can identify what the unmentioned referent (topic) is. That is an honorific prefix kesi- 'is' which is used for seniors.

⁹Korean is not unique, though. In Llacon Quechua (Weber 1976:37-54), for example, the subject case marker

does not surface, either. Consider the following.

- a. *nuga-Ø yaku-ta upu-Ø-na-yka*
 I water-OM want
 'I want to drink water.'
- b. *Tomas-Ø Pablu-ta magna-n*
 Tom Paul-OM hit
 'Tom hits Paul.'

The data show that the subjects *nuga* 'I' and *Tomas* 'Tom' do not take any subject case markers, whereas the objects of the sentences, *yaku* 'water' and *Pablu* 'Paul' co-occur with an object case marker *ta*. In this language it seems obvious that morphological marking for the subject case becomes obsolete because of syntactically distinctive subjecthood provided by the sentence-initial position.

¹⁰We are not saying that deletion of redundant elements of the sentence prevails in the grammar of Korean. However, even in formal speech and writing, it is common that the plural marker *tɨl* does not co-occur with noun phrases when there is a quantifier. For example,

- a. *twu salam-Ø*
 two person
- b. **twu salam-tɨl-ka cukəsta*
 two person-Pl-SM die
 'Two persons were dead.'
- c. *mahn salam-(tɨl)-ka wasta*
 many person-(Pl)-SM come
 'A lot of people came.'

¹¹Longacre (1972:148-149) identifies four basic types of discourse: narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory. The narrative discourse is characterized by (i) temporal succession as its principle of cohesion, (ii) agent-orientation, (iii) high incidence of topical clauses, and (iv) high incidence of past tenses.

¹²Data (29) is a narrative spoken by a university professor and taped by the author during a casual conversation in 1980.

¹³Not all of the adverbs can occur with the particle *nɨn*. See Chae (1976:107).

¹⁴Kuno (1973) contends that Japanese *ga* is used for "exhaustive listing, equating *ga* with the English cleft-sentence structure 'It is X that ...'". However, it is questionable whether an average speaker of English will respond for an answer like "It is Mary who is a student" to

the question "Who is a student among Tom, Bill, and Mary?"

¹⁵In Yang (1972:59-94), the particles nin and ya are classified as delimiters. Their semantic function is to add extra meaning to the elements to which they are attached. However, it is extremely difficult to incorporate the meaning of each particle into an English sentence. Each particle carries particular semantic delicacy as follows: to 'also', ya 'taken for granted', man 'only', na 'rather', macə 'even', kkaci 'up to', and cocha 'even'.

¹⁶According to Halliday and Hasan (1976:212), the first element of the sentence is regarded as a theme (roughly topic), i.e. "point of departure for the clause." However, their concept of topic (or theme) may not be the most appropriate for a referential view of topic functions, since it includes any linguistic elements placed at the beginning of a sentence. For instance, adverbs such as suddenly as in Suddenly I felt something pulling at the end of my fish line. It is obvious that suddenly is not what the speaker/writer is talking about. Either Halliday and Hasan's definition needs to be restricted or the referential view needs to be expanded.

¹⁷The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Chauncey Chu for his insightful comments on the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER THREE

THE KOREAN PASSIVE AS A DEVICE FOR TOPIC REALIZATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will first take a glance at various accounts of the English passive and its related problems as a background of the chapter. Then, we will discuss the motivations of the passive constructions in relation to topic realization. Finally, we will re-analyze the Korean passive along the same line, in the form of a comparison with its English counterpart.

3.2 A Brief Review of the Accounts of English Passives

Generative-transformational grammarians attempted to formalize the relations between the active and passive sentences, which were not explicitly and formally related in traditional grammar. In Syntactic Structures (Chomsky 1957), a transformational rule for passivization was introduced, because in a derivational model that is unidirectional phrase structure rules alone can not economically show the properties of both active and passive sentences. Active was a kernel which passive was derived.¹ The basis of this analysis is the common meaning between an active and passive pair. Figure I is an illustration of this relation.

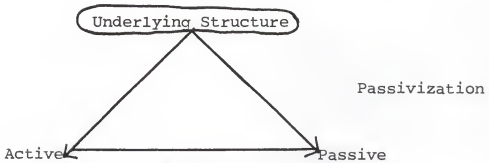
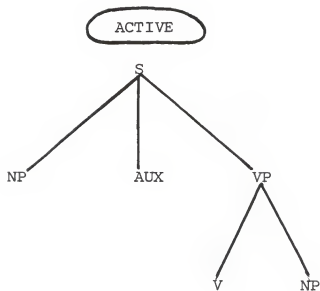
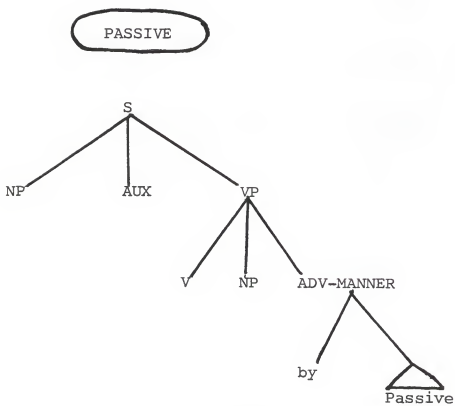


Figure 1

This analysis analysis based on positing one common underlying representation for the active and passive sentences ran into a problem of synonymity.² Certain sentences are not compatible with this approach because the passive sentences are subject to different interpretations from the active counterpart. Such semantic discrepancy was not fully accounted for by the passive transformational rule. Since the approach was mainly intended to formalize language, meaning was not a major concerns as an integrated part of the theory.

The position that the active and passive sentences have exactly the same underlying structure was challenged by Katz and Postal (1964) and was thus modified in the Aspects of Syntactic Structures (Chomsky 1965). It was proposed that passive sentences differ from their corresponding active sentences in underlying representation by having an additional element "Manner," which contains a 'Passive' node to trigger the passive transformation. (Figures 2 and 3)

Figure 2Figure 3

Since a manner adverbial is added under the verb phrase node, the passive transformation is no longer optional, but is obligatorily applied where by Passive occurs. For the rule to apply correctly, verbs are strictly subcategorized in the lexicon in terms of co-occurrence with manner adverbials. One advantage of this formulation over the earlier model is that passivization is automatically limited to 'verbs that take manner adverbials freely' (Chomsky 1965: 104). However, this manner-adverbial analysis was refuted later by G. Lakoff (1965), where he argued that such verbs as know, believe, consider, think, see, hear, and perceive that do not co-occur with manner adverbials can nonetheless undergo passivization and thus suggested that in order to retain Chomsky's source for passive constructions, these verbs would have to be specified in the lexicon with rule features to be distinguished from verbs that do not undergo passivization.

In the earlier works of transformational grammar, a transformational rule converting active sentences into passive sentences was presented with the following structural analysis and structural change (Chomsky 1957:112).

Structural analysis: NP - Aux - V - NP

Structural change: $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \longrightarrow$

$X_4 + X_2 + \text{be} + X_3 + \text{by} + X_1$

This approach could not account for the so-called truncated passives like (1) Mary was insulted. A solution to this

problem was to assume that the example sentence is derived from (2) Mary was insulted by someone be deletion of the by-phrase. However, this was not satisfying because of a possible difference in meaning between (1) and (2). Hence, this transformation of 'By-Phrase Deletion' only partially solved the problem. The other part --- the structure that has an interpretation of (3) Mary felt insulted --- was unaccounted for.

The problem of the truncated passive was accounted for in a framework that treated the derivation of the passive as a two-step process (Chomsky 1972:41-42). The underlying structure of the truncated passive was assumed to have the following structural analysis:

Structural analysis: $NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2 - by - \Delta$

Structural change:

(i) AGENT-POSTPOSING:

$$X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 - X_5 - X_6 \longrightarrow \\ X_6 + X_2 + X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_1$$

The by-phrase does not have to appear in every sentence, because it is an optional constituent of VP. When it does appear, the AGENT-POSTPOSING transformation applies obligatorily.

(ii) NP-PREPOSING: $\Delta - Aux - V - NP_2 - by - NP_1$

$$X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 - X_5 - X_6 \longrightarrow \\ X_4 + X_2 + be + en + X_3 + \emptyset$$

Through the application of NP-PREPOSING, the dummy element left behind by AGENT-POSTPOSING is filled by the direct object.

Thus, the truncated passive can be produced transformationally by an ellipsis rule which deletes a by-phrase or by a rule which obligatorily preposes the underlying object to the subject position when the underlying subject is lexically and semantically empty.

Alternatively, Emonds (1970) postulated an empty subject node in underlying structure to derive the truncated passive. Under this analysis the deep structure of a passive lacking a subject does not need an ellipsis rule, which is ad hoc. However, the use of an empty subject node in the derivation of the truncated passive was pointed out as 'not motivated empirically' (Freidin 1975:388). To solve the problems unexplained by the transformational accounts, Freidin proposed a lexical interpretive approach for the reason that 'the synonymy of active and passive can be specified in terms of the semantic equivalence of predicates and the semantic functions associated with them' (Freidin 1975:391).

There appears to be some problems in technicality, though, to specify whether a verb undergoes passivization by its idiosyncratic lexical properties (Freidin 1975:389), even if we recognize that the passivizability depends on a lexical property of verbs.

It seems apparent that no conclusion can be drawn as to what kind of a lexical feature can specify the ability to passivize with respect to the lexical entries of verbs. Strict-subcategorization features (Chomsky 1965) and rule features (G. Lakoff 1965) have been proposed. The strict-subcategorization solution, which is based on the behavior of the verbs that take manner adverbials freely, does not work because of the verbs that can undergo passivization despite their inability to take manner adverbials. The rule feature solution is not desirable, either, because it is ad hoc (Freidin 1975:390).

Owing to the controversial nature of the issue concerning the passive constructions, there has been a great deal of research devoted to different approaches to passivization arguments. Such arguments have certainly contributed tremendously to the understanding of language in general. There is, however, a general dissatisfaction about the motivation of the passive construction: its meaning and function (Stanley 1975).

3.3 The Motivation of the Passive

Dissatisfaction with transformational approaches to the passive construction stems largely from the well-known fact that active and passive differ in usage as well as in order. For example, R. Lakoff (1971:149) stated that '... no presently-formulated linguistic theory is capable of relating active to passive sentences correctly,

beyond accounting for superficial word-order, which I hold is the least interesting aspect of the passive sentence.' Further, she discussed the usage of the passive construction by asking '... why it is done, and done in this way, rather than, as is usual, what is done to the superficial configuration of lexical items' (R. Lakoff 1971:149).

If purely syntactic explanation have failed to account for the motivation of the passive construction, it might be worthwhile to try to look into the reasons that underlie the use of the passive from a perspective beyond the traditional sense of syntax, for linguistic phenomena reflect the interactions of multitudes of factors either syntactic or nonsyntactic (Kuno 1980:134). Kuno (1976:438) pointed out that:

It is time to reexamine every major 'syntactic' process and every major 'syntactic' constraint from a functional point of view, to find semantic explanations for its existence in case the syntactic characterization holds, and to find a deeper and more accurate semantic generalization in case the syntactic facts are simply superficial and 'almost correct' syntactic manifestation of non-syntactic factors.

Moving away from the mainstream of generative theory, Kuno accounts for the syntactic phenomena by assuming that such linguistic phenomena are conditioned by nonsyntactic functional factors (Kuno 1980:126). His approach to the description of such syntactic phenomena thus accounts for their motivations.

According to Kuno (1976), one of the non-syntactic factors that interact with syntactic phenomena and account for the passive construction is the speaker's empathy. In terms of his Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy, the subject is the easiest element for the speaker to empathize with. The following data illustrate the point.

(1) a. John hit Mary.

b. Mary was hit by John.

In sentence (1a), the speaker's empathy is placed on John, whereas in sentence (1b), the speaker's empathy is on Mary.

If speaker desires to empathize with the recipient of an action, one of the syntactic means is to resort to the passive construction. For the functional constraint on the well-formedness of a sentence, Kuno (1976:433) proposed a Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy: 'It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself (i.e. to express his own point of view); it is next easiest for him to express his empathy with the hearer; it is most difficult for him to empathize with the third party, at the exclusion of the hearer himself.' However, his claim needs considerable refinement for two reasons. As Kato (1979) pointed out, first, in a proper context, the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy can be violated. To quote one of Kato's examples (1979:150),

(2) When somebody says to me, "You're great, how come you are just a waitress?" Just a waitress. I'd say,

'Why, don't you think you deserve to be served by me?'

The passage in (2) shows that Kuno's theory of passivization based on the Empathy Hierarchy does not explain the acceptability of the data. The sentence Why, don't you think you deserve to be served by me? should be unnatural, because there is a conflict between the Participant Empathy Hierarchy and his Surface Structure Hierarchy (1977:648), which says that 'It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the object; ... it is impossible for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the by-passive agentive.'

Secondly, the Hierarchical constraint on the passive construction is only limited to human subjects and it can not account for the prevalence of the passive construction in many kinds of written English that are free from the speaker's empathy, such as government documents, academic writings, and newspapers. Respective examples of those categories are given in the following.

- (3) Air attacks were authorized and executed by target systems for the first time in 1967, although the attacks were limited to specific targets within each system (Pentagon Papers, 615). [Stanley 1957:31]
- (4) The Pronominalization Hypothesis was designed to account for the contrast between cases in which a pronoun can be coreferential with a full NP and cases

in which it can not. To account for this contrast, a mechanism was posited for marking coreference and noncoreference relations in underlying structure.

(Soames and Perlmutter 1979:360)

- (5) A van taken from a woman who was kidnapped at knife point Saturday at a Williston shopping center and later released was found abandoned and burned Wednesday evening in southeast Gainesville.

(from Gainesville Sun, April 21, 1983)

The data cited above are to illustrate a number of subjects of the passive sentences that are non-animate. Indeed, Shintani's study (1979:185) on the frequency of the English passive shows that about 80 per cent of the subjects of the English passive sentences in writing are non-animate. Thus, Kuno's hypothesis of Empathy is only applicable to a fraction of passive sentences. Then, what is the more general reason for the passive construction?

Regarding the reasons for the choice of the passive sentences, Jespersen (1964:121) states that the reason why "the passive turn is preferred is generally the greater interest taken in the passive than in the active subject.' Earlier, Carrol (1958) suggests that the speaker selects the most salient element of an extralinguistic situation as the subject of a sentence. If the agent in a given situation is chosen as the most salient element, a sentence tends to be in the active form; and conversely,

if the patient is selected as the most salient one, the sentence will tend to be in the passive construction. This observation agrees with Kuno (1977:648), who notes that 'one of the functions of Passivization is to elevate the referent of the object to the most prominent position in the Surface Structure Hierarchy, and to defocalize the referent of the subject to the position that can not receive the speaker's empathy.' In a similar vein, Stanley (1975:28) states that 'the shift from an SVO to an OVS syntactic structure focuses the reader's attention on the logical object of the verb.' These statements make it clear that the passive construction is a syntactic device to shift a normally non-topical element to the topic position in a sentence. At the same time, the detopicalized referent, usually the agent, thus can even be deleted to produce the so-called truncated passive sentence, which constitutes 86 per cent of the English passives (Shintani 1979:159).

From the discussion above, we can conclude that the passive construction is normally used to direct attention to an element that would not be topical in an active sentence. Hence, it is important to note that the syntactic phenomenon is motivated by a non-syntactic factor: 'attention.'

3.4 Discourse Functions of Passive

A number of studies on the passive (Mathesius 1928; Firbas 1966; Danes 1970; Langacker and Munro 1975;

Coetzee 1980 and Davison 1980) have recognized it as a syntactic device for topicalization, an information structure option that allows the patient of the sentence to be the topic under discussion. In this section, we will examine this characteristic of the passive with a view to showing how it contributes to the cohesion of discourse structure beyond the sentence.

3.4.1 Passive as a Device for Topic Realization

In English, the selection of the passive construction over the active is a fundamental method of realizing topics which would otherwise be in a non-subject position. The device, however, involves such intricate factors as semantic properties of the predicate (G. Lakoff 1971), hierarchical consideration (Clark and Begun 1971), 'the cognitive properties of selective attention and ego-centric bias' (Zubin 1979), and the speaker's semantic choice of the perspective from which he/she wants the listener to see things (Grimes 1975). Among those, the most crucial factor is probably the speaker's intention to signal which participant of the discourse is in the center of his/her attention. Levy (1979:184) pointed out that 'the speaker encodes important components of his thought processes in his utterances (the very thought processes that lead to the production of that utterance).' And one of the signaling devices that the majority of languages exploit is sentence-initial position, i.e. the topic position (Li and Thompson

1976 and Creider 1979).

In determining a particular target of interest, the speaker tends to do the following (Zubin 1979:477).

1. To focus interest on entities that are cognitively salient to him,
2. To focus interest on relatively few entities in the narrated scene, in comparison to the total range of entities available,
3. To focus interest on one entity or one set of homogeneous entities at a time,
4. To persevere in attention on one entity, and
5. To reach a satiation limit where attention is shifted.

The tendencies above in the focusing of the speaker's interest seem most applicable to choosing a topic in discourse, because the topic is what we are interested in most at the moment of discourse and what we are to talk about. The topic, being a target of our interest, serves as 'a starting point' (Chafe 1976:44) of discourse. Thus, the presence of a discourse topic provides the listener/reader with a hint for a narrowed-down scope of new information germane to the main event in discourse and is inevitable in the comprehension and integration of incoming new information.

Within the general discussion presented here, the selection of a target of the speaker's interest as a topic and the placement of the topic in sentence-initial position needs to be considered as essential in discourse processing. In the following data (from Gainesville Sun, November 20, 1980), we will show how the discourse function of the passive is utilized.

(6) a. A musician therapist at North Florida Evaluation

and Treatment Center was arrested Tuesday when a security guard in a routine inspection reported that he found drugs in a saxophone case.

- b. Ronald Burns, 32, of 4117 SW 20th Ave, was arrested for possession of cocaine, of less than five grams of marijuana and for introduction of contraband into a penal institution.

- c. He was released Wednesday on his own recognizance.

In passage (6), it is clear that the speaker/writer has chosen a musician therapist as the target of the speaker/writer's interest over a set of other alternatives: primarily, security guard and drug; and secondarily, Treatment Center, Tuesday and saxophone case, as participants in the event. And it is apparent that sentence (6a) must be expressed in the passive because the topic, a musician therapist, is semantically a patient in the set of security guard (agent), arrest (a transitive verb), and a musician therapist (patient). At the same time, by being placed in sentence-initial position as a topic, a musician therapist is brought into prominence in comparison with the other alternatives, thus serves as the target of the speaker/writer's attention.

In the passage as a discourse block, the same device --- topic through the passive --- is used to enhance cohesion among the sentences. The 'musician therapist' is mentioned again, though in different ways, as the

subject and topic in the second and third passive sentences. By virtue of the initial noun phrases' referring to the same person, the three separate sentences are made to talk about the same topic; they thus form a coherent whole.

3.4.2 Syntactic Characteristics of the Topic Through Passivization

Passivization as a syntactic device for discourse function is unique in that it involves subjectivalization (Fillmore 1968:37). Topicalized noun phrases preposed as a result of passivization also serve as the subjects of passive sentences. Accordingly, the topic in this case holds a selectional relation with the predicate verb of the passive sentences. In this respect, the topic produced via passivization is distinguished from those topics generated by topicalization in the sense of Ross (1967) used the term. Let's take a look at the following, for instance.³

(7) a. The van, the professor kicked.

b. The van was kicked by the professor.

In sentence (7a) the object of the sentence is topicalized by means of topicalization (Ross 1967), maintaining the original grammatical role of the object of the transitive verb kick in the active sentence. And the subject of the sentence is still the agent, the professor. In (7b), the topicalized constituent, the van, is no longer the grammatical object of the sentence. Instead, it assumes a new role as the subject of the sentence as a result of

passivization. The choice of a patient as the subject of the sentence imposes agreement on the verb with the patient. The discourse function of this particular kind of topicalization and that of the passive subject appear to be the same in that both topicalize a patient.

The difference seems to be that the topic in the passive is grammaticalized since it has to agree with the main verb in person and number while the topic through topicalization is not grammaticalized because it does not enter into any grammatical agreement, nor, indeed, does it serve any grammatical function in the sentence.

The topic in a passive sentence is also distinguished from the topic in a Topic-Prominent language. The topicalized elements in the latter form, in particular, the so-called double-subject construction, do not have to meet any selectional restrictions. Consider the following sentence in Chinese.⁴

- (8) Fuluolida, ren hen youshan.
 Florida person very friendly

'(In) Florida, people are very friendly.'

In sentence (8), Florida is the topic, which is not grammatically related to the main verbal youshan 'friendly.' In other words, the topic is not selected by the verb, but rather by what follows it as 'the comment.' For instance, it would be unacceptable to say 'This desk lamp, people are friendly,' even though 'a desk lamp' can be personified to be friendly in a fable. In the latter case the Chinese

sentence would be the same as its English counterpart, The desk lamp is friendly.

In the context of the language typology proposed by Li and Thompson (1976), passivization is one of the syntactic devices for topicalization in Subject-Prominent languages, where the basic organization of a sentence is subject and predicate. In Topic-Prominent languages, where a subject is not required, topicalization does not necessarily involve the subjectivalization of a noun which is normally a non-subject. Passivization therefore rarely occurs in those languages for this purpose. If it does, it is for purposes other than topicalization because any noun phrase can become a topic without registering a change in the form of the verb as passivization in English does. In this sense, the subject of a passive sentence can actually be considered a grammaticalized topic (Gruber 1967, Keenan 1976, Chafe 1976, and Givon 1979). This last view is completely compatible with the Korean passive construction, where the topicalized constituent usually takes a subject case marker. We will discuss the Korean passive construction in detail in section 3.6.

3.5 Passive as Paragraphing Device

Coleman (1982) demonstrated that the selection of active or passive may be related to controlling paragraphing cues. This view was originally proposed by Paduceva (1974). It seems quite natural to start a new paragraph with a new

topic by means of topicalizing the object in the active sentence through passivization, because the choice of passive or active is a fundamental method of controlling realization in topic position. Thus, the topic established by passivization can serve as a new topic for the discourse to follow. Consider the following (Coleman 1982:153).

(9) A man was walking past my store the other day.

I know I recognized him from somewhere, but I didn't know from where. It took me a minute, but when I thought about it, I remembered who he was. A really nice house was built by the man. The house I mean is the one over on Fourth Street. It's white, a two-story one with lots of windows on the side facing the street.

The underlined sentence in this case can be regarded as serving a paragraphing cue, because the topic made by passivization serves as the topic for the sentences to follow. Observe another paragraph below.

(10) The flight was to take about two hours. Each plane had enough fuel for 1,000 miles. A careful check of all the planes was made before take-off. Life rafts were placed on board. The flyers were prepared for all emergencies.

(from Jim Collins, 1977, The Bermuda Triangle, p. 7.)

In this passage, the first passive sentence also serves as a paragraphing cue, but in a more subtle way. The next

two sentences do not repeat the same referent as in the first one, but mention some things ("life rafts and the flyers") that may be included in 'the careful check.' Furthermore, since the agents who did the 'check' and 'the placing of the life rafts' are negligible in the narrative, there is even more reason to employ the passive sentences in the paragraph.

3.6 The Korean Passive Construction

The Korean passivization involves moving an object of an active sentence to the subject position of a passive sentence and moving the original subject into a phrase marked by e, eke, lo, hanthe, or e uihae to be placed immediately after the new subject. It is completed by registering in the verb with a passive infix. Nothing like the insertion of be in English is required in Korean. Thus, the passivity of the verb in a sentence is expressed by means of the passive infixes such as ci, hi, i, li, ki, tang, toe, tāt, pat, mac, and mə̀k. Consider some examples represented by the infixes.

- (11) a. kike-ka tol-ɨl kollɨnta
 machine-SM stone-OM pick

'The machine picks up stones.'

- b. tol-ka kike-lo kolla-ci-nta
 stone-SM machine-by pick-PM (PM=Passive Marker)

'Stones are picked up by the machine.'

- (12) a. thaephung-ka namu-lɨl ppopasta
 typhoon-SM tree-OM uproot

'The typhoon uprooted trees.'

- b. namu-ka thaephung-e ppop-hi-àsta
tree-SM typhoon-by uproot-PM

'Trees were uprooted by the typhoon.'

- (13) a. pəl-ka Tom-ìl ssoasta
bee-SM Tom-OM sting

'A bee stung Tom.'

- b. Tom-ka pəl-e sso-i-àsta
Tom-SM bee-by sting-PM

'Tom was stung by a bee.'

- (14) a. palam-ka pae-lìl mil-nta
wind-SM boat-OM push

'The wind pushes the boat.'

- b. pae-ka palam-e mil-li-nta
boat-SM wind-by push-PM

'The boat is pushed by the wind.'

- (15) a. koyangi-ka cwui-lìl ccoc-nànta
cat-SM rat-OM chase

'A cat is chasing a rat.'

- b. cwui-ka koyangi-eke ccoc-ki-nta
rat-SM cat-by chase-PM

'A rat is being chased by a cat.'

- (16) a. Jim-ka Julia-lìl kangkanhaesta
Jim-SM Julia-OM rape

'Jim raped Julia.'

- b. Julia-ka Jim-eke kangkan-tang-haesta
Julia-SM Jim-by rape-PM

'Julia was raped by Jim.'

- (17) a. kyosu-ka haksang-ìl chuchànhaesta
professor-SM student-OM recommend

'The professor recommended the student.'

- b. haksang-ka kyosu-e uihae chuchàn-toe-àsta
student-SM professor-by recommend-PM

'The student was recommended by the professor.'

- (18) a. s̄nsaengnim-ka Peter-l̄l chingchanhaesta
teacher-SM Peter-OM praise

'The teacher praised Peter.'

- b. Peter-ka s̄nsaengnim-eke chingchan-pat-asta
Peter-SM teacher-by praise-PM

'Peter was praised by the teacher.'

- (19) a. appa-ka David-l̄l yatanhaesta
dad-SM David-OM scold

'Dad scolded David.'

- b. David-ka appa-eke yatan-mac-asta
David-SM dad-by scold-PM

'David was scolded by Dad.'

- (20) a. motu-ka Ri-ssi-l̄l yokhaesta
everybody-SM Ri-Mr-OM blame

'Everybody blamed Mr. Ri (for it).'

- b. Ri-ssi-ka motu-eke yok-m̄k-̄sta
Ri-Mr-SM everybody-by blame-PM

'Mr. Ri was blamed by everybody.'

Sentences (11-20) show that their verbs are registered by different passive markers which are determined by idiosyncratic features of each verb. In Korean, thus, we do not have a single passive morpheme like (r)are in Japanese. Hence, a single rule can not be formulated to represent the Korean passivization as far as verbal morphology is concerned (Sung 1976:170). However, in general, passive markers ci, hi, i, li, and ki co-occur with native Korean verbs, whereas toe, tang, pat, mac, and m̄k co-occur with verbs of Chinese origin or ha-verbs (a combined verb form of NP and ha 'do,' e.g.

kyəlhon 'marriage' + ha 'do' becomes kyəlhonha 'to marry.').

The passive marker ci usually occurs with some causative verbs and some transitive verbs that are derived from intransitive verbs (Song 1979:95).

It is interesting to note that there are some verbs that do not take a passive infix but possess the meaning of passive predicates. Consider the following.

- (21) a. John-ka Mary-lɿl ttaeliəsta
John-SM Mary-OM beat

'John beat Mary.'

- b. Mary-ka John-eke macasta
Mary-SM John-by be-beaten

'Mary was beaten by John.'

- (22) a. pyəluk-ka kae-lɿl motsalkehanta
flea-SM dog-OM irritate

'Fleas irritate dogs.'

- b. kae-ka pyəluk-eke putaekkinta
dog-SM flea-by be-irritated

'Dogs are irritated by fleas.'

- (23) a. sakikkun-ka Mary-lɿl sokiəsta
swindler-SM Mary-OM cheat

'A swindler cheated Mary.'

- b. Mary-ka sakikkun-eke sokasta
Mary-SM swindler-by be-cheated

'Mary was cheated by a swindler.'

The passive sentences in (21-23) are not common but distinguished from those in (11-20) in that the verbs do not take explicit passive markers and are not derivable from active verbs. For instance, take sentences (21) and (22), the

active verbs of the sentences are not morphologically related at all to the passive verbs in (21) and (22): ttaeli 'to beat' versus mac 'to be beaten' and motsalkeha 'to irritate' versus putaekki 'to be irritated.' These few passive verbs of this type; they are highly marked lexical items and must be learned individually outside the syntactic system.

Depending on the analysis of the Korean passive predicates, the Korean passive construction can be classified differently. For instance, Sung (1976:166) identified three different formations based on the morphological variations of the verbs. On the other hand, he distinguished between 'direct passive construction' and 'indirect passive construction' on the basis of whether or not the action of the agent directly affects the patient. However they are classified, it appears extremely difficult, if not impossible, to come up with a general morphological analysis of the idiosyncrasy of the inherently passive verbs. In this sense, it is correct to say that the Korean passive is not so productive as that of English. As Perlmutter and Postal (1977) pointed out, morphologically-based analysis of the passives does not seem to capture any underlying universality, if any claim to universality is to be made.

3.7 The Passive By-Phrase

3.7.1 The English Passive By-Phrase and Its Semantic Function

The function of by in the passive construction marks an agent and the by-phrase represents an underlying subject in active sentences (Fillmore 1968). By definition, the term agent is used to refer to a noun phrase that has the agentive case relationship with its verb in a sentence. This case is often described as characteristically 'animate' (Lyons 1968), 'perceived instigator' (Fillmore 1968:24), 'willful source' (Gruber 1967:943), and 'an object which is regarded as using its own energy in carrying out the action' (Cruse 1973:21). Such descriptions appear to be ascribable to the diverse uses of the by-phrase, which can generally be captured by means of semantic categorization. Categories such as Agent, Instrument, Natural Force, Experiencer, and Cause (Nilsen 1973:69) seem conducive to a full account of the Korean phrase corresponding to by-phrase in the English.

3.7.2 The "By"-Phrase in Korean and Its Case Features

The marker eke of the Korean passive construction, which is found in Abasolo (1974), Song (1979), and Kim (1982), is considered equivalent to the English passive by. However, it can be variously represented by other case markers like e, hanthe, lo, and e uihae, depending on the underlying case relation and the semantic features of the noun phrase. We will observe the following examples.

- (24) eke or hanthe for noun phrases with features [Agent], [Experiencer], and/or [Animate]:

- a. Tom-ka kom-eke/hanthe mul-li-àsta
Tom-SM bear-by bite-PM
'Tom was bitten by a bear.'
- b. ki yānghwa-nān mahnān salam-eke/hanthe
the movie-AM many person-by
kamsang-toe-àsta. [Experiencer]
appreciate-PM
'The movie was appreciated by many people.'
- c. ai-ka koehan-eke/hanthe yukoe-toe-àsta
child-SM stranger-by kidnap-PM
'The child was kidnapped by a stranger.'

- (25) e for noun phrases with the feature [Force]:

- a. pae-ka palam-e mil-li-nta
boat-SM wind-by push-PM
'The boat is pushed by the wind.'
- b. Bill-ka pəl-e sso-i-àsta
Bill-SM bee-by sting-PM
'Bill was stung by a bee.'
- c. Mary-ka cha-e chi-i-àsta
Mary-SM car-by run-over
'Mary was run over by a car.'

- (26) lo for noun phrases with the feature [Natural Force]
or [Instrument]:

- a. ssi-ka kike-lo ppuli-ci-nta [Instrument]
seed-SM machine scatter-PM
'Seeds are scattered by a machine.'
- b. thap-ka cicin-ilo phason-toe-àsta [Natural
tower-SM earthquake-by damage-PM Force]
'The tower was damaged by the earthquake.'

- c. cakmul-ka cangma-lo yusil-toe-àsta [Natural Force]
crop-SM flood-by lose-PM

'The crops were lost by the flood.'

- (27) e uihae⁵ for noun phrases that can not be marked by
the above markers.

- a. ciku-ka inkan-e uihae *(eke/hanthe, e, lo)
earth-SM human-by

oyəm-toe-nta
pollute-PM

'The earth is being polluted by human being.'

- b. i kənmul-nən simin-e uihae *(eke/hanthe, e, lo)
this building-AM

kənlip-toe-àsta
construct-PM

'This building was constructed by the citizens.'

- c. kongsancwuui-nən Karl Marx-e uihae *(eke/hanthe, e, lo)
communism-AM Karl Marx-by

cwuchang-toe-àsta
claim-PM

'Communism was claimed by Karl Marx.'

- d. kkum-ka Daniel-e uihae *(eke/hanthe, e, lo)
dream-SM Daniel-by

haemong-toe-àsta
interpret-PM

'The dream was interpreted by Daniel.'

In (24-26), the passive "by"-phrases are marked by eke, e, hanthe, and lo, whereas in (27), by e uihae. It is interesting to note a further fact that those markers used in (24-26) can all be replaced by e uihae but they can not substitute e uihae in (27). This brings up a question:

Why can those passive "by"-phrases in (27) not be marked by the other case markers if their case relationship and semantic features are identical to those in (24-26)? For instance, the passive "by"-phrases in (24c) and (27a) are identical in terms of case relationship and semantic feature: Agentive and [+Human]. However, the case marker eke or hanthe is not acceptable in (27a). One explanation may be based on the notion of verb-centered sentence, which is found in Chafe (1970: 165), stating that '... the verb is the control center of a sentence, determining by its own internal specification what the rest of the sentence will contain -- not completely, of course, but to a significant degree.' Thus, the problem that involves the selection of a passive "by" marker for a noun phrase apparently stems partially from the verb.

We have observed so far that e uihae can occur in the sentences where the case markers eke, hanthe, e, and lo are not permissible as an agentive case marker. What is not made clear by the examples is the fact that e uihae can without exception replace all the agentive case markers shown in (24-26), without any of the restrictions that imposed on those other case markers. Therefore, e uihae⁶ stands out as the most general representation of the Korean passive "by," while the others are its variants controlled by individual verbs.

A further problem related to the one discussed above concerns the general morphological distribution of

the Korean case markers, passive and non-passive. The following is a list of such markers.

Lexicon of Case Marker (Yang 1972:38)

ka	lɪl	lo	e	tongan	ɪi
[+Nom]	[+Acc]	[+Inst]	[+Tim(1)]	[+Tim(2)]	[+Gen]
e	e	esə	e	lo	
[+Agt]	[+Exp]	[+Source]	[+Goal(1)]	[+Goal(2)]	
e	esə	wa/hako			
[+Loc(1)]	[+Loc(2)]	[+Com]			

In this list, we see that five different case features [+Agt], [+Exp], [+Tim(1)], [+Goal(1)], and [+Loc(1)] are represented by the same morpheme e. A problem with this case system is that there is no device to distinguish the feature [+Agt] from other case features, when these features are co-existent in a passive sentence. Observe the following example.

- (28) a. Mary-ka John-e[+Goal] pimil-ɪi cəntalhaesta
 Mary-SM John-to secret-OM convey

'Mary conveyed the secret to John.'

- b. *pimil-ka Mary-e[+Agt] John-e[+Goal]
 secret-SM Mary-by John-to

cəntal-toe-əsta
 convey-PM

'The secret was conveyed to John by Mary.'

In (28b), which is supposedly derived from (28a) by passivization, two features [+Agt] and [+Goal] are represented by the same case marker e⁷ and the sentence is not acceptable because of the indistinguishability of the two different features. In other words, the Agency can not be expressed unambiguously by such Agentive case markers as eke, hanthe,

or e in a Korean passive sentence. On the other hand, this conflict between cases is not found in (27) where the case markers eke, hanthe, and e cannot represent Agency. This suggests that the use of those Agentive case markers is not blocked by the case conflict. Rather, it seems clear that the use of the Agentive case markers is constrained by the inherent nature of certain verbs irrespective of the noun phrase in a passive sentence.

3.7.3 The Korean Passive as a Device for Topic Realization

There are sentence-internal restrictions⁸ in selecting the subject of a passive sentence because of the dominance of the predicate over the subject. In particular, only the direct-object noun phrases⁹ of an active sentence can be realized as the subject of a passive sentence via passivization. The objective case noun phrases are not topical in an active sentence but passivization enables them to occupy the topic position. Thus, passivization is a syntactic device for topic realization. Let's take a look at an example in Korean. (from the Korean News of New York, May 15, 1981)

- (29) a. palmyàngwang Edison-nin cànìnga-lo
king-of-invention Edison-AM moron-as

chwuikìp-pat-a thoehak-tang-haesta
treat-PM-and expel-PM

'The king of invention Edison was treated as a
moron and expelled (from school).'

b. kɪlana () əməni-ui yəlssim-ɪlo cip-esə
 but mother-of enthusiasm-by home-at

alphabet-ɪl ikhiəsta
 alphabet-OM learn

'But (he) learned the alphabet at home because of
 his mother's enthusiasm.'

In (29), the agentive noun phrase of the sentence is not mentioned because the agent is unknown and thus, at best, an indefinite 'someone' (Jacob and Rosenbaum 1971:8). But, more importantly, this agent is not the center of the speaker/writer's attention. The patient, on the other hand, is introduced through passivization in a prominent position because it is of more interest to the speaker/writer and supposedly to the listener/reader. Once it is established as a topic, it can be deleted the second time it occurs, such as in (29b). Thus, a Korean passive construction like the one above fundamentally serves as a syntactic device for topic realization, whereby the patient becomes the center of attention in the discourse.

On the other hand, Abasolo (1974) accounts for the Korean passive in terms of given-new information structure. Namely, the passive is viewed as a syntactic process of changing 'the normal distribution of new and old information' (Abasolo 1974:196). Under this analysis, the patient noun phrase assumes a new role of representing old information, whereas an agent noun phrase comes to convey new information. However, this analysis is not convincing for two reasons.

First, the initial position which the patient occupies in a passive sentence does not necessarily express old information. For instance, consider the following.

- (30) a. kotɪŋhakkyo ihaknyən haksaeng-ka piccin ton-ɪl
 high-school 2nd-year student-SM loan money-OM

kapci mothan apəci taesine chaekwəncə-e uihae
 fail-to-pay father instead-of creditor-by

napchi-toe-əsta
 kidnap-PM

'A second-year high school student, (whose father) had failed to repay a debt, was kidnapped in place of the father by a creditor.'

- b. () cwumin-ui sinko-lo sipyukilman-e
 citizen-of report-due-to 16-day-in

phul-li-ənasta
 free-PM

'(He) was freed, thanks to a citizen's report, from a 16-day captivity.'

- c. kyəngchal-nɪn haksaeng-ɪl napchihaestən
 police-AM student-OM kidnap

Ham-ssi-lɪl chephohaesta
 Ham-Mr-OM arrest

'The police arrested a Mr. Ham, who had kidnapped the student.'

(from the Korean News of New York, March 16, 1981)

In (30a), which is the beginning sentence of a newspaper article, the passivized and thus topicalized noun phrase, kotɪŋhakkyo ihaknyən haksaeng 'a second-year high school student' obviously does not serve as old information, despite the fact that it occupies the position normally

representing old information. It rather conveys new information. Abasolo confuses topic with old information, as many people do, in his analysis (cf. Kuno 1980:128), though the two very often overlap.

Secondly, Abasolo (1974:202) stated that "the passive brings the agent noun into prominence in the sentence." This may be correct for the English passive, for in English the agent noun phrase is normally placed at the end of the sentence. The agent noun phrase in the Korean passive, however, is placed right next to the patient noun phrase. This position does not give it any more prominence than the sentence-initial position does in the active counterpart. For example, observe the following.

- (31) a. Romeo-ka Tibolt-l_il salhaehaesta
 Romeo-SM Tibolt-OM kill

'Romeo killed Tibolt.'

- b. Tibolt-ka Romeo-e uihae salhae-toe-_ästa
 Tibolt-SM Romeo-by kill-PM

'Tibolt was killed by Romeo.'

As we see in sentence (31b), unlike in English the agent noun phrase Romeo is not positioned at the end of the passive sentence; consequently, it is not brought into prominence.

To sum up, the Korean passive is essentially a syntactic device for topic realization, whereby the patient noun phrase is introduced as the topic, becoming a center of attention.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted to account for the passive constructions in terms of topic realization, which is a discourse strategy realized as a syntactic device for drawing attention. In other words, the passive construction enables an otherwise non-topical constituent in an active sentence to occur in topic position. At the same time, it attaches a morphological marker to a normally topical element and places it in a non-topical position.

The Korean passive is compatible with the above general characterization. However, its productivity is constrained by the syntactically idiosyncratic specification of each transitive verb. That is, different passive infixes are required to register a passive verb and there is no simple syntactic rule to regulate this phenomenon. It reflects morphological verb-stem classes. Even so, in its occurrence the passive in Korean is a highly marked syntactic device for topic realization.

The agent noun phrase in the Korean passive construction is registered by case markers eke, hanthe, e, lo, and e uihae, depending on semantic features of the agent noun phrase. When the agentive case marker is not distinguishable from other case markers because of the homophonous morpheme e, the case marker e uihae is used to clarify it. A departure from the usual treatment of the "by"-markers is that we regard e uihae as the basic one, of which the

others eke, hanthe, e, and lo are variants. The occurrence of the variants depends on the individual noun phrase and predicate verb involved in the passive construction.

Irrespective of the presence or absence of the agent noun phrase, the function of the passive construction is topic realization. This is a discourse strategy, may be realized in different forms, such as in Ross (1967) and those in the topic-prominent languages.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹Chomsky dropped the concept of kernel around 1962. I owe this point to Jean Casagrande (personal communication).

²The issue of synonymity was not raised until after Aspects, though. I am indebted to Jean Casagrande (personal communication) for the point.

³An English professor at the University of Florida took to kicking illegally parked cars as a means of dramatizing the parking problem on the campus at the time of this research.

⁴The author is indebted to Chauncey Chu for the example.

⁵e uihae has variants like e uihayə and e uihaesə.

⁶e uihae is a combination of e and uihae superficially; however, we will not go into the problem of morphological derivation.

⁷eke and hanthe are realized by means of EKE/HANTHE Insertion rules according to Yang (1972:37).

a. EKE-Insertion (opt)

$$\text{SD: } X + \begin{bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ [+Hum] \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{Agt} \\ \text{Exp} \\ \text{Source} \\ \text{Goal} \\ \text{Loc}(1) \end{bmatrix}]_C - Y$$

$$\text{SC: } \overset{1}{1}, \emptyset, \overset{2}{2}, \overset{3}{3} \longrightarrow 1, \underline{\text{eke}}, 2, 3$$

b. HANTHE-Insertion (obl)

$$\text{SD: } X + \begin{bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ [+Anim] \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{Agt} \\ \text{Exp} \\ \text{Source} \\ \text{Goal} \\ \text{Loc}(1) \end{bmatrix} - Y$$

$$\text{SC: } \overset{1}{1}, \emptyset, \overset{2}{2}, \overset{3}{3} \longrightarrow 1, \underline{\text{hanthe}}, 2, 3$$

⁸Passivization is even more limited. For instance, take a look at the following (Gross 1979:864).

- (1) a. This question will receive all our attention.
b. *All our attention will not be received by this question.

⁹On the other hand, Davison (1980) discussed the so-called "peculiar passives," in which noun phrases of locatives and instruments are also subject to passivization.

CHAPTER FOUR

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF TOPIC REALIZATION IN ENGLISH AND KOREAN

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will concentrate on three topics under a comparison of English and Korean topic realization: (i) the syntactic devices to realize topics in English and Korean, (ii) the morphological registration that accompanies the syntactic operations of topic realization, and (iii) the subsequent problems anticipated for a Korean student in learning English in conjunction with topic realization.

4.2 Syntactic and Morphological Devices for Topic Realization

In this section, first, we will discuss the syntactic operations at the intra-sentence level, i.e. topic realization in the sense of Ross (1967) and passivization. Secondly, we will deal with the morphological interactions that accompany the syntactic operation of topic realization which places a topical noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence.

4.2.1 Topic Realization à la Ross and Passivization

Both topic realization à la Ross and passivization basically serve the same function in that they involve moving a constituent to the topic position of a sentence. However, topic realization à la Ross (1967) is distinguished from passivization in that it moves a constituent to the topical position of a sentence, without imposing change on the verb form. Consider the following (Culicover 1976:279).

- (1) a. Nobody likes that man.
 b. That man, nobody likes.
 c. That man, John said that nobody likes.
 d. That man, Mary believes John said nobody likes.
 e. That man, the newspaper said Mary believes John
 said nobody likes.

As shown in (1), the constituent that man can theoretically be fronted from any depth of the sentence. However, according to Ross' Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (Ross 1967), nothing can be topicalized from a Complex Noun Phrase, unless the entire Complex Noun Phrase is fronted. Observe the following.

- (2) a. Mary hates the man who loves her sister.
 b. The man who loves her sister, Mary hates.
 c. *Her sister, Mary hates the man who loves.
 d. *The man, Mary hates who loves her sister.

The object noun phrase (i.e. a Complex Noun Phrase in this case) in (2a) can be realized as a topic as in (2b), when

the entire Complex Noun Phrase is preposed. Since the Complex Noun Phrase functions as a conjunct, any elements separated from the Complex Noun Phrase and topicalized are not tolerated as in (2c) and (2d). However, Ross' Complex Noun Phrase Constraint fails to account for the motivation of the ungrammaticality of separation from the Complex Noun Phrase.

In the perspective of functional grammar, Kuno (1976:420) accounts for the same linguistic phenomenon in terms of the thematic constraint on relative clauses. He contends that the head noun phrase of a restrictive relative clause is a thematized element. As thematization is a type of topic realization (though the relation between the two is not clear), the unacceptability of (2c) can then be attributed to a conflict between two topicalized (or thematized) noun phrases in the same sentences: her sister and the man who loves (her sister). The conflict may be looked upon as this. The relative clause thematizes the man who loves her sister, while the thematization in effect takes out her sister from the relative clause in order that it can be further topicalized. The result is, however, the relativization here thematizes only fragment of the noun phrase rather than a whole one. Semantically, the ungrammaticality of sentences is due to lack of congruous relations between the topicalized elements and the rest of the sentences (i.e. the comments). That is, the comment 'Mary hates the man who loves' in (2c) as a whole can not serve as a statement about the topicalized element 'my sister'. By the

same reason, sentence (2d) is also unacceptable. Thus, it is obvious that those topicalized elements, which are moved out of a Complex Noun Phrase, can not stand in a congruous semantic relation to the rest of the sentence, i.e. the comment of the sentence.

Korean also obeys the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint.¹
Observe the following sentences.

- (3) a. Mary-ka caki-ui tongsaeng-~~il~~ salanghan~~n~~ namca-l~~il~~
Mary-SM self-of sister-OM love man-OM

miw~~ə~~hanta
hate

'Mary hates the man who loves her sister.'

- b. caki-ui tongsaeng-~~il~~ salanghan~~n~~ namca-l~~il~~
self-of sister-OM love man-OM

Mary-ka miw~~ə~~hanta
Mary-SM hate

'The man who loves her sister, Mary hates.'

- c. *caki-ui tongsaeng-~~il~~, Mary-ka salanghan~~n~~ namca-l~~il~~
self-of sister-OM Mary-SM love man-OM

miw~~ə~~hanta
hate

*'Her ister, Mary hates the man who loves.'

- d. *namca-l~~il~~ Mary-ka tongsaeng-~~il~~ salanghan~~n~~
man-OM Mary-SM sister-OM love

miw~~ə~~hanta
hate

*'The man, Mary hates who loves her sister.'

The proposed elements cakiui tongsaeng 'her sister' in (3c) and namca 'man' in (3d) can not serve as the topics of the sentences, unless the entire complex noun phrases are moved to the sentence-initial position as in (3b). Our explanation

for the English sentences in (2) applies to the Korean ones as well. It therefore seems that a discourse and semantic approach such as ours gives a better insight into why the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint should be universal in nature.

In comparison with Ross' topicalization, passivization may be described as a more highly marked syntactic device for topic realization. The topicalized noun phrase in passivization changes its syntactic role from object case to subject, whereas there is no such change of case for a topicalized noun phrase in Ross' topicalization. In passivization, due to the hierarchical change of subject and object, the verb of the sentence needs to be re-adjusted accordingly, from active to passive. Observe the following.

(4) a. The rapist, Mary caught (him).

b. The rapist was caught by Mary.

It seems obvious that the topicalized elements in (4a) and (4b) are made "the center of attention" by means of either topicalization à la Ross or passivization.

This comparative observation about topicalization à la Ross and passivization in English is equally applicable to Korean. Let's take a look at the following data.

(5) a. kangkanbəm-ɨl(nɨn), Mary-ka capasta
rapist-OM Mary-SM catch

'The rapist, Mary caught.'

b. kangkanbəm-ka(nɨn) Mary-e uihae cap-hi-əsta
rapist-SM Mary-by catch-PM

'The rapist was caught by Mary.'

Despite the syntactic similarities between the two devices

in English and Korean, the topics of sentences in (5) can be optionally marked by the particle nin in place of the case particles i in (5a) and ka in (5b). As we have contended in Chapter Two, the particle nin is a secondary device of codification for "attention" and thus optional in topic realization.

4.2.2 Passivization in English and Korean

Passivization in English involves three transformational operations: (i) postposing of the underlying subject into a by phrase to the right of the predicate, (ii) insertion of be + -en, and (iii) preposing of the underlying direct object to the subject position.

For the passivization in Korean, (i) the underlying subject is moved to the right of the subject position and followed by e uihae 'by', (ii) insertion of a passive marker into the verb root, and (iii) preposing of the underlying direct object into the subject position.

Despite some similarities between the English and the Korean passives, there are two fundamental differences. First, in Agent Postposing, the underlying subject is not placed at the end of the sentence in Korean. In this sense, the Korean passive construction lacks polarity. According to Krauthamer's Polarity Hypothesis (1981:307), 'a sentence is most communicatively efficient when animacy, givenness, and agency are all at the beginning of the sentence and inanimacy, newness, and patiency are all at the end.' Hence,

the Korean passive appears to deviate from the tendency to maintain a polar distance between the oppositional elements: agent and patient. Further, the lack of polarity between agency and patiency in the Korean passive also seems to affect the polarity between the two other opposing features: givenness and newness. Placed side by side at the beginning of the sentence, the two elements in Korean do not seem to be significantly polarized in givenness. Accordingly, Abasolo's claim (1974:202) that 'the passive brings the agent noun into prominence in the sentence' does not seem to account appropriately for the Korean passive.

The second structural difference is that insertion of be + -en is not required in Korean. The voice that is expressed by be + -en is represented by tense markers. Instead of insertion of be + -en, a passive marker is infixed into the verb root in Korean.

Despite the structural differences between the English and Korean passives discussed above, their functions as a syntactic device for topic realization is basically the same. However, it seems obvious that the Korean passive is less productive than that of English as a device for topic realization. One of the reasons is that agent deletion, which is one of the main purposes in the English passive, is available in Korean by other means (see Chapter Two, section 2.7.2). More importantly, topic realization can be much more easily done in Korean through mere preposing and/or morphological marking than in English. Li and

Thompson (1976:467) point out that 'any noun phrase can be the topic of a sentence without registering anything on the verb. It is, therefore, natural that the passive construction is not as widespread in Topic-Prominent languages as it is in Subject-Prominent languages'. On a relative scale, Korean is much more Topic-Prominent than is English, though not as much so as Japanese or Chinese.

4.3 Morphological Codification of the Sentence Topics

Topic realization involves morphological codification as well as the syntactic operation that interacts across sentence boundary. As the topic is characterized by such semantic features as givenness, anaphoricness, definiteness, and knownness; its morphological codification is made possible by one of four different ways: (i) definitization, (ii) re-introduction of a noun phrase, (iii) pronominalization, and (iv) the alternating use of the three. Definitization is a way to establish a topic by the use of the definite article to refer to a previous non-definite noun phrase. Re-introduction is another device to establish a topic by repeating a previously mentioned definite noun phrase. Pronominalization is still another such device by use of a pronoun to refer to a previously mentioned definite or non-definite noun phrase. In the following sections, we will illustrate the operation of these four ways.

4.3.1 Definitization

Definitization of a noun phrase is carried out by use of the definite article, including the demonstratives this, that and their plurals.² Consider the following.

- (6) a. A big, mean lion met a monkey in the jungle.
 b. The lion pounced on the poor monkey and asked,
 "Who is king of the jungle?"
 c. The frightened monkey replied, "You are, O mighty lion."
 d. So the lion let him go.

(from Reader's Digest, December 1982, p. 120.)

[Underlinings are mine.]

In data (6), the chosen topics lion in (6b) and (6d), and monkey in (6c) each refer back to a previously mentioned noun phrases and are definitized by the definite article, in addition to their being placed in sentence-initial position. Mere repetition of a noun phrase like a lion or a monkey are not acceptable as topics in English. Thus, the definitization of a topical noun phrase is morphologically required for topic realization in English.

In contrast, the definitization in topic realization in Korean is different. As a matter of fact, definitization is not required in Korean in spite of the existence of similar definitizing mechanism. Consider the following.

- (7) a. John-ka hancha-l*ǐ*l sasn*ǐ*nte
John-SM used-car-OM buy-and

'John bought a used car.'

- b. cha-ka tuthongkk*ǐ*li ita
car-SM trouble is

*'Car is a trouble to him.'

- c. i cha-ka tuthongkk*ǐ*li ita
this car-SM trouble is

'This car is a trouble to him.'

- d. k*ǐ* cha-ka tuthongkk*ǐ*li ita
the car-SM trouble is

'The car is trouble to him.'

Topic realization in Korean may be achieved by the placement of the topical noun phrase in sentence-initial position without definitization, which is not acceptable in English. Thus, the topic cha 'car' in (7b) is acceptable despite the possibility of definitization by words like i 'this' and k*ǐ* 'the' in (7c) and (7d). Since morphological marking for definitization of a noun phrase is not obligatory in Korean grammar, it constitutes a pitfall for Korean students in learning the topic realization of English.

4.3.2 Re-Introduction of Topical Noun Phrases

The second mechanism accompanies the topic realization in English is the re-introduction of topical noun phrases. Consider the following.

- (8) a. When Zenko Suzuki, 71, became Prime Minister of Japan 2 and 1/4 years ago, he confidently pledged to reduce the government bureaucracy, eliminate

- the budget deficit and promote a "politics of harmony."
- b. But Suzuki never made good on any of those promises.
 - c. Faced with declining public support and growing discontent within his Liberal Democratic Party (L.D.P.), Suzuki told his advisers last week that he would not seek the nomination for the party presidency at its Oct. 16 meeting, thereby effectively resigning as Prime Minister.
 - d. Said he: "I consider it my last service as party president to imbue our party with fresh vitality."
(from Time, October 25, 1982, p. 54.)

In this passage, as Suzuki is definite at the first occurrence, it is re-introduced in (8b) and (8c), and then pronominalized in (8d). In both (8b) and (8c), however, an appropriate pronoun would be just acceptable, though the repetition of the name Suzuki seems to be able to remind the reader, lest he/she forget, who this passage is about. Thus, we tentatively conclude that re-introduction and pronominalization of topics are two alternative devices.

Repetition of a topical noun phrase in a Korean narrative is a common practice. Observe the following.

- (9) a. tong-hae, ki pataska-e Yunolang Seonyer pupu-ka
east-sea the beach-on Yunolang Seonyer couple-SM

haecho-lil ttit-ko koki-lil capimye salko
sea-weed-OM collect-and fish-OM catch-and living

issasta
is

'On the beach of the East Sea, a couple Yunolang

and Seonyer were living by collecting seaweed and catching fish.'

- b. ənɪnal Yunolang-ka pataska-e na-ka haecho-lɪl
one-day Yunolang-SM beach-to go-and seaweed-OM
ttɪtko isnɪn-te holyənhɪ cəne po-i-ci anhtən
collecting is-and suddenly before see-PM not

pawui hana-ka nathana Yunolang-ɪl sitko-sə
rock one-SM appear-and Yunolang-OM ride-and

han pata-lo ttəkasta
great sea-to float

'One day Yunolang was collecting seaweed on the beach;
suddenly, an unfamiliar rock appeared and carried
Yunolang off to the Great Sea.'

- c. Yunolang-nɪn ilpon-ui ənɪ haean-e tahasta
Yunolang-AM Japan-of certain seashore-at reach

'Yunolang reached a seashore in Japan.'

- d. kɪ nala salam-tɪl-nɪn pawui-e sil-i-ə on
the country person-Pl-AM rock-by carry-PM

Yunolang-ɪl poko-sə pəmsanghan salam-ka anil
Yunolang-OM see-and common person-SM not

kəsila saengkakhaesta
thing-is think

'The people in the country, running into Yunolang
who was carried by a rock, thought him as an unusual
person.'

- e. kɪliko-nɪn () Yunolang-ɪl kɪ nala-ui
then-AM Yunolang-OM the country-of

wang-ɪlo pastɪləsta
king-as crown

'Then, (they) crowned Yunolang king of their country.'

- f. Seonyer-nɪn haecho-lɪl ttalə nakan namphyən-ka
Seonyer-AM seaweed-OM collect go-out husband-SM

tolaoci anhın kəs-ka amulaeto isanghake yäkyäcyässta
return not thing-SM at-all strangely consider

'Seonyer thought it very strange that her husband, who
went to collect seaweed, did not return.'

- g. Yunolang-ı̄l chaca, Seonyer-nın pataska-lo nakasta
Yunolang-OM look-for Seonyer-AM beach-to go-out

'Seonyer went to the beach to look for Yunolang.'

- h. () ănı̄ pawui wuie namphyän-ui sinbal-ka
certain rock on husband-of shoes-SM

nohı̄äcyä isnın kəs-ı̄l palkyänhaesta
placed is thing-OM discover

'(She) discovered that her husband's shoes were on
a rock.'

- i. Seonyer-nın kı̄ pawui wui-lo ttwuiäolakasta
Seonyer-AM the rock on-to jump

'Seonyer jumped onto the rock.'

- j. Yunolang-ı̄l kılăhke haestıs pawui-nın tto
Yunolang-OM such do rock-AM also

Seonyer-lıl sitko han patas-lo ttăkasta
Seonyer-OM carry-and great sea-to sail-off

'The rock carried Seonyer off to the great sea.'

- k. Seonyer-nın apsă Yunolang-ka tahastăn
Seonyer-AM previously Yunolang-SM reach

ilpon-ui palo kı̄ haeän-e tahasta
Japan-of just the seashore-at reach

'Seonyer reached the same seashore in Japan where
Yunolang had reached.'

- l. pawui-e sil-li-ăon Seonyer-lıl poko kı̄ nala
rock-by carry-PM Seonyer-OM see-and the country

salam-tıl-nın nolap-ko uiasılăwăsă wang
person-PL-AM astonish-and curious king

Yunolang-eke sasil-~~i~~l aloeðsta
Yunolang-to fact-OM report

'Astonished at Seonyer who was carried by a rock,
 the people of the country were curious about (her)
 and reported the event to King Yunolang.'

- m. Yunolang-kwa Seonyer pupu-n~~n~~n tasi mannasta
Yunolang-and Seonyer couple-AM again meet

'Yunolang and Seonyer reunited.'

- n. k~~i~~liko Seonyer-n~~n~~n kwuibi-lo past~~i~~l~~a~~cyðsta
 then Seonyer-AM queen-as make

'Then, Seonyer was made queen.'

(from 'Yunolang-kwa Seonyer', Samguk Yusa [Legends
 and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea],
Samjoongdan, Seoul, Korea, p. 38.)

The topics of the passage are Yunolang, Seonyer and k~~i~~ nala salamt~~i~~l 'the people of the country'. Introduced in (9a), Yunolang is established as a topic in (9b) by repetition (first occurrence) and re-introduced as a topic in (9c) and (9m) and as a non-topical element in (9b, d, e, g, j, k, and l). Seonyer is introduced in (9a) and established as a topic in (9f) by repetition and re-introduced as a topic in (9g, i, k, m, and n) and as a non-topical element in (9j and l). k~~i~~ nala salamt~~i~~l 'the people of the country' is established as a topic in (9) by repetition, after it has been introduced in (9d). Thus, the topics of the passage are rather established and re-introduced by means of repetition rather than by nominalization.

4.3.3 Pronominalization

The third morphological mechanism that is employed in the topic realization in English is pronominalization. Consider the following.

- (10) a. A mother saw her three-year-old son put a nickel in his mouth and swallow it.
- b. She immediately picked him up, turned him upside down and hit him on the back, whereupon he coughed up two dimes.
- c. Frantic, she called to the father outside.
- d. "Your son just swallowed a nickel and coughed up two dimes. What should I do?"
- e. Yelled back the father, "Keep feeding him nickels."
(from Reader's Digest, August 1982, p. 65.)

[Underlinings are mine.]

The topic she in (10b) and (10c) is the result of the topic realization via pronominalization. But the noun phrase that the pronouns refer to may be indefinite when it is first mentioned, as in (10a).

For pronominalization in a paragraph, Hinds (1977: 80) proposes a condition, which says, 'within a given paragraph, pronominalization is possible if (a) the referent is properly registered in the discourse registry, and (b) there will be no vagueness or ambiguity created because of multiple antecedents.' However, the following data satisfy the condition proposed and yet pronominalization does not occur:

- (11) a. Frank Swinnerton, 98, novelist, belletrist and chronicler of English literary life for 70 years died in Cranleigh, Surrey, England.
- b. Born outside Victorian London, Swinnerton turned 62 uneven but cheerfully unpretentious books.
- c. His intricately plotted, somewhat Victorian novels included *Nocturne* (1917) and *Death of a Highbrow* (1961), a book that he and his critics regarded as his best.
- d. The agreeable Swinnerton had a gift for making extraordinary friends (among them H.G. Wells, Arnold Bennet, G.B. Shaw and Aldous Huxley), whose lives he recounted in several spirited but gentlemanly memoirs.

(from Time, November 22, 1982, p. 114.)

[Underlinings are mine.]

The information presented in this obituary if focused on the novelist Swinnerton, who thus serves as the topic of the paragraph. The topics in (11b) and (11d) are repetitions of the proper noun previously introduced in (11a) but are not pronominalized, though satisfying Hind's conditions. This fact further supports our conclusion in section 4.3.2 that pronominalization and re-introduction of noun phrases are alternative devices at the discourse level. Both pronouns and noun phrases can refer back to previous definite or indefinite noun phrases, while only definite noun phrases may be used to re-introduce topics.

Most pronouns, especially possessive and objective, do not normally surface in Korean. They are "understood" contextually. In technical terms, zero anaphora³ instead of pronominalization is employed in Korean. Therefore, explicit pronouns in Korean discourse are often unnatural and even awkward, if not downright unacceptable. Observe the following, which is a Korean translation of (10a) and (10b).

- (12) a. han əməni-ka (kɨ yəcaui) se- sal-məkɨn atɨl-ka
 one mother-SM (her) three-year-old son-SM

nikhel hana-lɨl (kɨui) ip-e nəhəstaka
 nickel one-OM (his) mouth-in put-and

(kɨ kəs-ɨl) samkhinɨn kəs-ɨl poasta
 (it) swallow thing-OM see

'A mother saw her three-year-old son put a nickel
 in his mouth and swallow it.'

- b. əməni-ka(kɨ yəca) əllɨn (kɨ-lɨl) tɨlɨsə
 mother-SM(She) immediately (him) pick-up-and

(kɨ-lɨl) kkəkɨkulo tolyənohko (kɨ-lɨl) tɨng-ɨl
 (him) up-side-down turn-and (him) back-OM

chyəsta kɨlɨca (kɨ-nɨn) taim twukae-lɨl thohaesta
 hit then (he) dime two-OM cough-up

'She immediately picked him up, turned him upside
 down and hit him on the back, whereupon he coughed
 up two dimes.'

The above pronouns and their following particles in the parentheses are better omitted than present. Their presence will not render the entire discourse unacceptable, but it certainly makes it foreign-sounding. Such pronouns are usually identified as a characteristic of poor translation

from a Western language.

Pronominalization by virtue of a previous noun phrase is most of the case desirable in English intra-sententially or inter-sententially. For example, a nickel in (10a) is referred to by the pronoun it in the same sentence; a mother in (10a) as she in the next sentence (10b). Such a morphological re-adjustment of an anaphora is more often than not undesirable in Korean, i.e. those pronominalized elements in parentheses in (12) are not natural, though possible. We assume that the beauty of pronominalization in English lies in the avoidance of the repetition of noun phrases. The use of pronouns in Korean, however, is felt to be too lengthy. For instance, in (12), pronominalization adds a total of twenty extra syllables to the sentences. The problem seems to stem from the less developed pronominal system in Korean, which fails to offer an economical morphology. For example, the third person singulars in Korean are as follows:

he = kɨ namca 'the man'

she = kɨ yəca 'the woman'

it = kɨ kəs 'the thing'

Thus, pronominalization is not prevailing in Korean because of morphological inefficiency of the pronominal system. Accordingly, the Korean topics are not readily pronominalized; instead, they are simply re-introduced or deleted under co-referentiality with their antecedents.

On the other hand, since zero anaphora is employed, Korean does not really need a pronominal system like the one in English. It is, of course, immaterial to speculate which is the cause and which is the effect - the less developed pronominal system or the availability of zero anaphora.

4.3.4 Alternating Use of the Three

The topics at the discourse level may be designated by a combination of the three methods discussed in the previous sections: definitization, re-introduction, and pronominalization. For example, observe,

- (13) a. Died. Elio Petri, 53, sardonic leftist Italian film director who won an Oscar in 1971 for his Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion, a complex, unsettling study of a high police official who perversely becomes a killer but is unsuspected by his systembound colleagues; of cancer; in Rome.
- b. Although he broke with the Communist Party in 1956, Petri filmed cerebral fables intertwining politics and psychosis (The Tenth Victim, Todo Modo) that he considered propaganda for the oppressed.
- c. He acknowledged, however, that he craftily "coated the pill" with swift plots, kinky surfaces and a fidgety mosaic style.

(from Time, November 22, 1982, p. 114.)

In (13), the topic is expressed by mixed use of re-introduction and pronominalization of a noun phrase. Sometimes,

topics are realized by a combination of pronominalization and definitization as well, such as in (14).

- (14) a. A woman invited a handsome salesman into her apartment for a drink.
- b. Soon, however, she heard her husband's familiar footsteps in the hall.
- c. "There's only one door into the apartment," she whispered to the salesman. "You'll have to go out the window."
- d. She pushed him to the bedroom window and commanded, "Jump."
- e. "But, lady," the salesman said hoarsely, "We're on the 13th floor."
- f. "Jump!" repeated the woman. "This is no time to be superstitious."

(from "The Stroller" in Spartanburg, S.C., Herald-Journal)

It seems that the definitization of a noun phrase serves to break the monotony of the pronominalization all the way and to remind the reader of whom the topical pronoun represents. Re-introduction of a topic after an interruption of, say, a sentence or sentences without mentioning the topic, however, is better done with a definite noun phrase (whether through definitization or repetition) than with a pronoun.

4.4 Topic Realization in English and Korean4.4.1 A Combination of Syntax and Morphology in Topic Realization

Having discussed the syntactic and morphological devices in topic realization in English and Korean, we are ready to examine some Korean discourse and its English counterpart in translation for a further contrastive analysis. The Korean data introduced here are taken from a modern version of Samguk Yusa [Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea] in contrast with an English translation.⁴

Observe the following.

- (15) a. puk Puyo-ui wang Haebulu-ui caesang Alanbul-n~~n~~
north Puyo-of king Haebulu-of vizier Alanbul-AM

kkum-i~~l~~ kku~~a~~sta
dream-OM dream

- a' Alanbul, the grand vizier of Haebulu dreamed a
dream.'

- b. kkum-e ch~~a~~nce-ka kanglimhay~~a~~
dream-in heavenly-god-SM descend-and

k~~i~~-eke malhaesta
he-to say

- b' A heavenly god descended and said to him.

- c. cangcha na-ui cason-i~~lo~~ hay~~a~~k~~i~~m i
future I-of off-spring-with by this

kos-e nala-l~~i~~l seuke halila
place-in nation-OM found cause

- c' My heavenly children will found a kingdom in this
land in the future.

d. nəhi-nɛn ikos-ɬl phihae kala
 you-AM this-place-OM. avoid go

d' I command you to move to another place.

e. tongccok pataska-e Kasupwon-ilanɛn ttang-ka issə
 east-side beach-on Kasupwon-called land-SM is-and
 thoci-ka kilɛmciəsta
 soil-SM fertile

e' On the shore of the Eastern Sea there is a land
 called Kasupwon, where milk and honey flow in abundance.

f. wangdo-lɬl seulmanhan kos-inila
 royal-residence-OM build place-is

f' That is the place to build your royal residence.

g. Alanbul-nɛn Haebulu wang-eke kwənhayə
 Alanbul-AM Haebulu king-to recommend-and

wangdo-lɬl Kasupwon-ɬlo omkiəsta
 royal-residence-OM Kasupwon-to move

g' Alanbul told the king about this dream and the king
 accordingly moved to Kasupwon.

h. kɬliko-nɛn () kukho-lɬl Tong Puyo-la
 and-AM name-of-the country east Puyo-as
 haesta
 call

h' And (the king) called his nation Eastern Puyo.

i. Haebulu wang-nɛn nɬkolok wangca-lɬl ətci
 Haebulu king-AM old prince-OM produce
 mot haesta
 not do

i' King Haebulu was old and he has no son.

j. halu-nɛn () sanchən-ui sin-tɬl-eke cesa-lɬl
 one-day-AM mountain-of god-Pl-to sacrifice-OM
 olli-ko kɬ-ui hukeca-ui thansaeng-ɬl piləsta
 offer-and he-of heir-of birth-OM pray

j' One day (he) offered sacrifices to mountains and streams, praying for an heir to be his successor.

k. kɪlɔ̃nte kɪ-ka than mal-ka Kɔ̃nyun-ilanɪn te-lo
however he-SM ride horse-SM Konyun-called place-to
ka-sə khɪn tol-ɪl poko macusə-sə nunmul-ɪl
go-and large stone-OM see-and stand-and tear-OM
hɪlliðsta
shed

k' His stead went to a large stone at Konyun and shed tears.

l. Haebulu wang-nɪn isanghake saengkakhako kyəthe
Haebulu king-AM strangely think-and beside
istən sinhatɪl-ɪl sikhya kɪ tol-ɪl kullyðnaeke
is favorite-OM let-and the stone-OM roll-cause
haesta
do

l' Wondering at this, the King had his servants turn over the stone.

m. kɪlaestəni kəkɪe-nɪn kɪmbitkal-ui salkat-e
then there-AM golden-of skin-with
kaekuli-ui moyang-ɪl han əlini-ka nawasta
frog-of shape-OM with child-SM come-out

m' Beneath it they found a child who looked like a golden frog.

n. kɪliko-nɪn () kɪ isanghake saengkin əlinai-ɪl
and-AM the oddly looking child-OM
telyəta killəsta
bring-and rear

n' And (they) brought the odd looking child and reared him.

- o. ki-ka calaca Haebulu wang-nin thaeca-lo
 he-SM grow-and Haebulu king-AM prince-as

samasta
 make

o' When he was grown-up, the king made him crown prince.

- p. () ilim-il kimwa-la ciasta
 name-OM golden-frog-as make

p' (He) named the prince Kimwa (Golden Frog).

- q. Haebulu wang-ka cukca Kimwa thaeca-ka wangwui-lil
 Haebulu king-SM die-and Kimwa prince-SM throne-OM

kesinghaesta
 succeed

q' King Haebulu died and Prince Kimwa succeeded to the throne.

In the English translation, some noun phrases are placed in parentheses. No overt forms corresponding to these noun phrases appear in the Korean original. A blank pair of parentheses is used to indicate where such a noun phrase would be if there were one. In two instances, the king is used for what would be King Haebulu (151' and 150').

We will now examine how the topics of the passage (15) are realized in terms of syntactic and morphological devices. Then, we will discuss some problems expected to stem from the differences between English and Korean. Finally, we will be concerned with how the particle nin functions as an attention marker.

Topics are primarily and syntactically realized at the beginning of sentence in both languages. However, in the Korean topics that have a sentential modifier as in

(15) or some other modifiers, the head noun phrase follows the modifier. Such non-sentence initial topical noun phrases occur in English as well, when there is a sentence-pronominal modifier, such as in (151'). In such cases, it is obvious that it is not only the head noun phrase but this head noun phrase together with its modifier must be considered topic. Discrepancy occurs between English and Korean when the head noun phrase is modified by a relative clause. That is, the English head noun phrase, if used as a topic, is still placed at the beginning of a sentence but such a Korean head noun phrase follows its relative clause. This difference can be attributed to typology.

More significantly, the English topics are re-introduced by means of definitization as in (15h') and (151'), pronominalization as in (15j'), and repetition of the same noun phrases as in (15g'), (15i'), and (16g'). On the other hand, the Korean topics are re-introduced by means of repetition of the same topical noun phrases as in (15g), (15i), and (151). In other cases, the topical noun phrases are simply deleted. Thus, definitization and pronominalization of noun phrases are rarely, if ever, utilized in Korean as a means of topic realization, while zero anaphora is most often used for this purpose.

4.4.2 Tasks for Korean Students Learning English

As to the definitization of noun phrases in Korean, it seems to be irrelevant to the Korean grammar.

Observe the following.

- (16) a. Mose-ka () kwangya-esə () paem-ɿl
 Moses-SM wilderness-in snake-OM
- tɪnkəs kathi () inca-to tɿl-liə-yahanɿnila
 lift like son-of-man-too lift-PM-must
- (from Sungkyungjunsō [the Holy Bible], the Korean Bible Society, 1976, p. 146)
- b. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,
 even so must the son of man be lifted up.
 (The Holy Bible, the World Publishing Company, p.118.)
- c. () kulipaem-ka () kwangya-esə
 bronze-serpent-SM wilderness-in
- mose-ui son-e nophi tɿl-liə-stən kəschələm
 Moses-of hand-by high lift-PM like
- () salam-ui atɿl-to nophi tɿl-liə-yahanta
 person-of son-too high lift-PM-must
- (from Yunghantaejo Sinyakjunsō [The New Testament: English and Korean], the Korean Bible Society, 1978, p. 304.)

In (16a), an early translation often reprinted, and in (16c), a more recent translation of an identical Biblical verse (John 3:14), none of the three noun phrases paem 'serpent', kwangya 'wilderness,' and inca 'son of man' are definitized by any means, while each of their counterparts in (16b) is made definite by means of the definite article the. The definitizer, which is expected to be filled in the parentheses, is not necessary in Korean in some cases and absolutely prohibited in others. The non-use of a morphological definite marker illustrated in (16) is more general in

character than for topic realization in Korean. A cursory look through the English examples so far studied gives us far more than sufficient data to illustrate the non-use of a morphological definite marker for the specific purpose of topic realization in Korean; however, we will take a look at another one. Observe the following.

- (17) a. John-ka acu nalkin cha-1il sasnite
John-SM very old car-OM buy-and

'John bought (a) very old car.'

- b. () cha-ka malssang apsi cal kanta
car-SM trouble without well go

'(The) car runs well without trouble.'

The established topic of this passage is cha 'car' in (17b), where no definite marker is used.

One of the foremost difficulties for Korean students learning English is therefore that they must be made aware of the definite meaning of any Korean noun phrases, topical as well as non-topical, so that then they translate their ideas into English, they are sure to add a definite article to the English noun phrase in question.

Another difficult task for Korean students is that Korean grammar is not in favor of using pronominalization. Let's observe the following.

- (18) a. Shinsaimtang-nin yosassal-ka ten Yulkok-ui
Shinsaimtang-AM six-year-old-SM Yulkok-of

son-il cap-ko Taekwanlyang wuie sa ista
hand-OM hold-and Taekwanlyang on stand is

- a' Shinsaimtang was standing on the top of Taekwanlyang,
holding Yulkok, who was six years old, by his hand.

b. () myæt hae tongan mosiko istàn
several year during take-care-of is

() chincàng òmàni kyàth-ìl ttàna ()
own mother side-OM leave-and

Seoul sitaek-ìlo kanìn () kil iðsta
Seoul husband's-house-to go way is

b' She was on her way to her husband's house in Seoul,
leaving her widowed mother whom she had taken care
of for several years.

(from Kuko [Korean Language] 6-1, Ministry of
Education, 1982, p. 8.)

Those pronominalized elements, where underlined, in (18) are obligatory in English; however, those elements are not even permitted in Korean and thus do not appear in (18b). The deletion of noun phrases where English pronouns would appear, therefore, seems to be a more general operation than just for topic realization. It constitutes a more general problem for Korean students than to insert a pronoun in some topical position. Deleted topical noun phrases can be easily found in our examples. The topic of sentence (18b) is deleted under coreferentiality with Shinsaimtang in (18a), which is impossible in English.

It seems obvious then that the problems discussed in this section constitute frequent stumbling blocks for Korean students learning English, especially in conjunction with topic realization. In view of the pedagogy of English as a second language, the problems should be fully understood by teachers before they can design any effective tools

for teaching those features of the English language.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed John Ross' topic realization in comparison with passivization as syntactic devices for topic realization in English and Korean. Passivization is regarded as a more marked syntactic device for topic realization, because it imposes a change of syntactic roles between the topicalized element and the postposed noun phrase.

As an accompaniment of syntactic operation in topic realization, topics are also expressed by means of definitization, pronominalization, repetition of the same topical noun phrases and a combination of any number of the three. Such devices, however, are not equally shared by English and Korean. It is therefore pedagogical significant for teachers of English to Koreans to incorporate such problems in their curriculum to ward off difficulties that their Korean students are most likely to encounter.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹On the other hand, Yang (1973) discusses some cases that disobey the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint.

²Restrictive relativization also functions as a definitizing device; however, we will in this section pay attention to the use of the definite article only.

³Zero anaphora seems to be a much more important syntactic device than the others that contribute to topic realization and, more generally, cohesion of discourse in Korean. As it is a notion which no one else has applied to Korean, we think it deserves further attention in another study. Therefore, we are only mentioning it briefly here. But see chapter three, section 2.7.2 for "deleted topic."

⁴Samguk Yusa [Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea] was originally written in Chinese by a Korean Buddhist monk in the late thirteenth century. The book abounds in various legends and folk tales connected with the founding and early history of the three kingdoms. For this analysis, we selected Dongwhan Lee's Korean translation (1983) to match the English translation of Grafton K. Mintz (1972).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research has established an alternative theory to account for the discursual behavior of the particle nin in connection with 'topic' and to examine other closely related syntactic devices as means of realizing the topic in Korean.

As a prelude, the fundamental assumptions were discussed in regard with the topic realization in Korean. At the same time, some of the more important terms used in this study were given an approximate definition.

In the general analysis of 'topic' in Korean, we witnessed two important issues emerge to the foreground. One of them is the need to recognize four different representations of the Korean topic: (i) unmentioned topic, (ii) topic with no particles, (iii) topic with case particles, and (iv) topic with special particles. Based on the analyses of our data, we came to the conclusion that the particle nin is not an exclusive topic marker.

The other issue is that it is more desirable to provide a unified account of the diverse behavior of the particle nin in conjunction with the topic realization in Korean. To do so, we applied the 'attention' theory to

account for the topic phenomena in Korean and the behavior of the particle nin. We interpreted the sentence-initial position as a syntactic device and the use of the particle nin as a morphological device for expressing the speaker/writer's attention to be directed to the listener/reader by way of topic. It was further found that both or either of the topic realization devices may be utilized in the language.

In the process of linking 'topic' to 'attention' on the one hand, and to the syntactic and morphological devices on the other, we believe that there is a need to recognize that noun phrases may manifest themselves in different degrees of topicness by applying a different number of realization devices. It also seems that the semantic features that define topichood may apply the same way, i.e. a noun phrase may incorporate more or fewer of such features and thus makes itself more or less a topic.

In a similar vein, we examined the syntactic characteristics of the passive constructions in English and Korean as a device for topic realization. It was found that in both languages the passive constructions enable an otherwise non-topical constituent in an active sentence to shift to a topical position. At the same time, these syntactic operations attach an obligatory morphological marker to a normally topical element and switch it to a non-topical position.

Despite the claim that the passive construction in English is to change the theme-rheme relation between an agent noun phrase and a patient noun phrase, eighty-five per cent of the English passives have been found to be agentless. This fact confirms our hypothesis that both the Korean and the English passive constructions should be more appropriately treated as an additional syntactic device for topic realization of an otherwise non-topical element. However, passivization is a rather highly marked means for topic realization in the sense that it requires change of case for a noun phrase to be realized as a topic and a verbal readjustment to agree with a new subject, i.e. a topic. An interesting fact about the Korean passive is that it is not so productive as the English. One of the strong reasons for its non-productivity is that the topic realization of a patient noun phrase is readily available in Korean by means of other less highly marked structures. For example, the patient noun phrase can simply be placed at the beginning of a sentence when the agent noun phrase is deleted.

Another difference between the English and the Korean passives is that the agent noun phrase in Korean is registered by such diverse case markers as eke, e, hanthe, lo, and e uihae, depending on the semantic features of the agentive noun phrase. When the agentive case marker is not distinguishable from other case markers because of the homophonous morpheme e, then e uihae is used to clarify the conflict. A departure from the usual treatment of the

"by"-markers is that we regarded e uihae as the basic one, of which the others, eke, hanthe, e, and lo, are variants. The occurrence of the variants depends on the individual noun phrase and predicate verb involved in the passive construction.

Finally, we discussed John Ross' topicalization in comparison with passivization as syntactic devices for topic realization in both English and Korean. Passivization is regarded as a more marked syntactic device for topic realization, because it imposes a change of syntactic roles between the topicalized element and the postposed noun phrase.

As an accompaniment of syntactic operation in topic realization, topics are also expressed by means of definitization, pronominalization, repetition of the same topical noun phrases and a combination of any number of the three. Such devices, however, are not equally shared by English and Korean. It is therefore pedagogically significant for teachers of English to Koreans to incorporate such problems in their curriculum to ward off difficulties that their Korean students are most likely to encounter.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

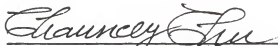
Sung-Uk Kim was born in Ongjin, Hwanghaedo, Korea. After graduating from Taejon Presbyterian College (now Han Nam College) with a B. A. degree in English language and literature, he joined the Republic of Korea Air Force and served as English Language Instructor and Liaison Officer for the U. S. Air Force Advisory Group until 1970.

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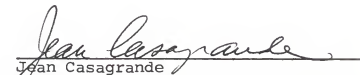
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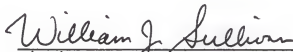
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